

Arafat says he'll come to Jerusalem very soon – to pray

JON IMMANUEL

PLO leader Yasser Arafat began his second full day in Gaza yesterday by opening a fruit juice factory north of Gaza City, and ended it by plowing through thousands of admirers in the southernmost town of Rafiah.

Arafat avoided making controversial statements, saying at one point, "I will come to Jerusalem very soon," but adding the rider "to pray." Finally, he stopped speaking almost entirely, as his voice gave out.

In between, he hosted two Arab MKs at his Palestine Hotel headquarters and visited several Palestinian institutions.

Along the routes up and down Gaza, he waved to burgeoning crowds from the sunroof of his now-familiar black Mercedes with its German license plate.

The \$12 million Gaza Citrus fruit processing plant is one of the most impressive new industrial plants in the district, financed by Italy (\$10 million) and the UN Development Program (\$2 million). In front of Italian consul Demiano Spinola, Arafat pulled aside a curtain revealing a plaque saying the plant was inaugurated by "The President of Palestine Yasser Arafat." (Photo, Page 3)

The factory will process 30% of the entire Gaza citrus crop, utilizing 75% of the non-exportable part of the citrus production, turning it into exportable juice.

Arafat entertained Democratic Arab Party MKs Abdel-Wahab Darawshe and Taleb a-Sanaa, and said he would demand that Arab countries and Israel repay the Palestinian Authority hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes and national insurance payments that had been deducted from Palestinian workers, and which could be used for the Palestinian Authority's budget.

Gulf countries withheld 7% of Palestinian workers' salaries as a PLO tax, and Israel did not pay unemployment and sick benefits to Palestinian workers, even though NII payments were deducted.

Police accompanied Arafat through crowded towns, with pictures of his leader pasted to the radiator grilles of their trucks. The reception was enthusiastic but orderly.

Larger crowds, waving more flags than were evident on his arrival Friday turned out in Deir al-Balah and Khan Yunis. In Rafiah, several people collapsed from the heat and stress.

Arafat canceled a press conference yesterday morning, as his disorganized schedule left no time for it. His visit to Jericho was postponed one day.

What is known so far is that he

will visit Jericho tomorrow to inaugurate the first official session of the Palestinian Authority.

Col. Moonther Ershad, the Jericho council head, said that Arafat will deliver a speech from the City Hall balcony at 9 a.m. and leave Jericho in the afternoon. It is still unclear whether he will then leave for Jordan, via the Allenby Bridge, or fly back by helicopter to Gaza and leave for Egypt via Rafiah.

Arafat will fly from Gaza to Jericho in an Egyptian helicopter because Palestinian helicopters, permitted under the Cairo accord, are being repaired in Egypt.

Yesterday, trucks and steamrollers were flattening an area near the Akasir police camp in Jericho to serve as a makeshift landing pad.

Meanwhile, Salim Zanoun, acting speaker of the Palestine National Council [the Palestinian parliament-in-exile] crossed the Allenby Bridge to Jericho yesterday, bringing closer the likely convening of the PNC to repeal clauses in the Palestinian national charter which call for the elimination of Israel, as required by the Oslo agreement. The PNC is expected to be convened for this purpose in Gaza.

Arafat's "homecoming" speech Friday, dismissed as too general and too passive by many Palestinians, was "acceptable and altogether moderate," Environment Minister Yossi Sarid said, after yesterday's cabinet meeting.

Sarid's comments contradicted the opinions of anti-government commentators, who said Arafat's speech expressed the same rhetoric as before.

The speech, according to many Palestinians, said nothing new and was notable more for what it did not say than for what it did say.

It did not mention Jerusalem as "the capital of Palestine," but only as a place where Israel "must recognize our Christian and Moslem holy sites."

Arafat sent greetings to Palestinians in Lebanese refugee camps, but did not say that his own return to Gaza was the prelude to the return of refugees from 1948 or 1967.

He also did not mention Israeli settlements. The consensus was that Arafat was more careful than in previous speeches not to offend Israel by referring to the three central issues to be discussed in the final settlement.

Palestinians were especially disappointed that he did not rebuke anyone, and even praised Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, "our brethren," which expelled Palestinians after the invasion of Kuwait.

Rabin blasts radical right wing

'Partners of Hamas in war against peace process'

MICHAEL YUDELMAN and DAVID MAKOVSKY

PRIME Minister Yitzhak Rabin launched a scathing attack yesterday on the opposition, accusing the radical right wing of being partners of Hamas in its murderous war against the peace process.

"The radical right wing in Israel is dancing on the blood of the victims of the radical Islamic murderers, trying to turn these victims into a lever against the peace agreement," Rabin told a Labor Party central committee meeting. "The fanatic murderers of the Islamic Jihad and Hamas are the means of the Israeli radical right wing."

Rabin further charged that "there is an evil, wicked circle of partnership between the Hamas murderers and the radical right wing."

He added, however, that "it won't do either of them any good. The process will continue. Arafat's coming to Gaza is part of the agreement. We have an interest in strengthening the status of the Palestinian elements who desire the agreement."

The National Religious Party issued a statement in response, condemning the "witch-hunt" the prime minister is conducting against his political opponents.

Rabin's reckless talk, which has become a phenomenon, dripping venom against the Right and the settlers, increases the feeling of abandonment by a part of the Israeli public which the government has repeatedly called a burden and an obstacle in the way of the Labor-Meretz government," the statement said.

Yechiel Leiter, a spokesman for the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, said the prime minister lashes out at the settlers and the opposition because "he is the emperor without clothes, and we are the ones who point it out."

"Rabin's history is not an excuse



Police arrest one of the demonstrators at yesterday's day-long protest opposite the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem. Overall, 40 people were arrested. See story, Page 2.

for his present failures." Leiter said. "The whole Oslo process is based on obfuscation and deceit, and he continues to lie to the public, just as he did concerning the Peres letter to Arafat."

Leiter likened Rabin "to the boy who cried wolf too many times – now there is no reason to believe him concerning the unity of Jerusalem."

Angered by Likud denunciations at Saturday night's demonstration in Jerusalem, Rabin accused the Likud of "brazenly attempting the greatest lie and stupidity possible, in portraying a completely false picture to the public and the world to the effect that the people are divided about the unity of Jerusalem, our sovereignty of it and its being Israel's capital."

He dismissed the verbal attacks, however, saying, "I don't give a damn, you can continue doing so – I'll keep on my way and we shall continue the process as we promised. And all the right wing's demonstrations and all their lies and slander, which are unprecedented in Israeli democracy, won't do them any good."

Rabin then lashed out at the settlers in the territories, saying they should share the burden of their own security with the IDF.

"The settlers in Judea and Samaria should learn from those on the northern border how to coop-

erate for their security together with the IDF. Much more could be done for their security, on condition that they occupy themselves less with demonstrations and more with guarding their settlements and their children on their way to school."

He added, however, that the government is responsible for the security of its citizens "even when they abandon their settlements to go to anti-government demonstrations."

Rabin expressed hope that the coalition would be broadened by the end of the Knesset's summer session "by an agreement with Shas and perhaps with another faction or two, on condition that the government's guidelines are not impaired and the Oslo and Cairo agreements are maintained. These form the basis for the government's policy, and we will not let any coalition consideration affect them."

In yesterday's cabinet meeting, ministers called on the Likud to dissociate itself from epithets hurled against Rabin at the Jerusalem demonstration.

Justice Minister David Libai told reporters after the meeting that "the Likud must condemn behavior of those demonstrators calling the prime minister a traitor."

Absorption Minister Yair Tzaban added, "when people say 'Ra-

bah is a traitor,' it is very dangerous, as it legitimizes bloodshed. Everyone knows what the fate of so-called traitors is for these fanatic nationalists."

"Some of the Likud leaders are only disapproving of such talk in the quietest of ways. If the Likud leaders do not deplore this in the most vigorous terms, and instead, God forbid, this deteriorates into violence, they will not be able to wash their hands of all of this."

Neither Likud leader Binyamin Netanyahu nor his spokesman could be reached last night for comment.

Apart from the hostile tone of the demonstration, the ministers did not like the idea that the demonstrators were appropriating the cause of Jerusalem, as if to suggest that the government cared less about the future of the city than they did. Some said the rowdiness by some demonstrators only undercut Israel's claim for control over the entire city.

Both Communication Minister Shulamit Aloni and Environment Minister Yossi Sarid questioned whether taxpayers' money was being diverted from the Jerusalem Municipality in order to subsidize the protest.

By contrast, several ministers and other senior officials related positively to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's "homecoming" speech in Gaza on Friday, saying Arafat had been careful to keep his rhetoric within acceptable bounds.

"The main and encouraging sentence of Arafat's speech was that while the agreement is far from what he would like, on the other hand the PLO must honor its agreements," Tzaban said. "Since this was said at such a special occasion and in front of tens of thousands of Palestinians and media from all over the world, it has special impact."

Police Minister Moshe Shabai indicated that Arafat used the word peace, and not truce, as Arabs have used in the past.

Foreign Ministry Director-General Uri Savir said, "I guess those people who thought that he would sing 'Hatikva' and endorse the previous government's settlement policy were disappointed."

"However, from a realistic point of view, Arafat made an effort to call for adherence to the existing agreement, which is key to future progress in negotiations. Otherwise, everything else is between him and his own people."

Itim reported that several ministers said the cabinet had been told that a man carrying a pistol and another man were arrested in Gaza on Friday, apparently on suspicion that they had planned to kill Arafat.

Herb Keinson contributed to this report

Stocks drop almost 4%

NEIL COHEN and GALIT LIPIKIS

STOCKS continued their downward plunge yesterday, diving almost 4% as investors stayed well away from the market.

Trading opened marginally lower and the declines intensified as the day wore on, with a very slight recovery in the last hour of trading. Mutual funds were heavy sellers of stock and redemptions were estimated at between NIS 150-200 million.

The Two-Sided Index of leading stocks fell by 3.87% to 153.23 while the narrower Maof index fell by a similar amount to 157.64%. Turnover was on the low side at NIS 185 million.

Dan Kiri, a broker for Bank Otzar Hahayal said: "I'm the last of the optimists on the market and today even I am disappointed with the market. The major problem is psychological, not economic. No-

body on the market was able to explain today's losses."

"People have lost faith in the market and conflicts between the Finance Ministry and the Bank of Israel do not help. Investors are afraid of high (inflation) indices in the next couple of months. The atmosphere is very bad but I don't think macro problems are to blame," he said.

"I expect a technical correction tomorrow. Many people are waiting for the market to rise 5-8%. Once the market goes up, many people will sell their securities. Today it was impossible to find buyers even for securities that fell 10%. There were no buyers," Kiri said.

Towards the end of trading Bank Leumi's provident funds and speculators started to purchase stock.

The look of a bear market

ANALYSIS

NEIL COHEN

THE evidence of the past week-and-a-half suggests that the "correction" has become a good and proper bear market.

Buyers are few and far between, and volumes are low. The bouncy volatility of a few weeks ago – alternating sharp rises and declines – has disappeared and the market has headed south, some days falling sharply, on others sliding more moderately.

While insiders such as company managers and parent companies have been picking up stock, this

small vote of confidence has been overshadowed by higher interest rates, the devaluation of the dollar (a weaker dollar means that Israeli exports to the US become more expensive) and general lack of confidence in the economy.

It isn't clear what will restore investors' confidence – probably a marked improvement in corporate profitability and/or inflation brought under control without plunging the economy into recession.

Brave, long-term investors will be picking up quality stock with increasing gusto as the market continues to fall. The market has a very shaky feel to it and whoever you believe on the fundamentals, it looks as though we could soon be testing 140 or even 130.

Quick IDF redeployment depends on Palestinian demands, says official

DAVID MAKOVSKY

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat will have to settle for limited civilian powers outside of Gaza and Jericho if he wants the IDF to redeploy its forces within the next few months, a senior Foreign Ministry official involved in peace negotiations said yesterday.

The official, speaking on condition of anonymity, made the remarks on the eve of a summit to be held in Paris on Wednesday between Arafat, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. All three are being honored by UNESCO for the Israel-Palestinian peace accord.

The focus of their talks will be the next phase of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, officials say. In particular, they are expected to discuss three elements that are part and parcel of the next phase of peace talks – Palestinian civilian authority throughout the territories, IDF redeployment outside of Arab population centers, and Palestinian elections.

Over the weekend in Gaza, Arafat said Israel should take its troops out of Palestinian towns by August and that Palestinian elections would be held in October. According to the Oslo accords, the IDF is supposed to redeploy its forces before elections are held.

However, senior Israeli officials say the situation is far more complicated since the three elements are all bound up together. According to Article VII of the accords, the scope of powers held by the elected Palestinian Council are first determined in negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians.

The only civilian areas Israel is

unequivocally committed to transferring to the Palestinians during the next phase of talks are: education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation and tourism. All other areas need prior Israeli consent.

"The choice is Arafat's," the senior official said. "There can be no elections until negotiations are held with us on the character of the Council's powers. If he wants protracted negotiations on civilian authority, they could go on for more than a year. This means no elections and no IDF redeployment."

"On the other hand, Arafat could decide not to argue about the scope of civilian powers Palestinians will receive, realizing this is only an interim period. If he chooses this course, IDF redeployment will happen a lot quicker."

When asked if the IDF would redeploy outside of Hebron where over 400 Jews reside, the senior official replied, "Hebron is a special case, unlike any other city in the territories. There would be different rules for Hebron."

At this week's Paris meeting, Arafat is also expected to reiterate his request that Israel transfer tax revenues collected by the civil administration in the territories as soon as possible. He is also likely to raise the issue of an estimated 3,500 to 4,500 Palestinian prisoners and detainees still held in Israeli installations.

Arafat told Gazans he would not rest until Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin is released, but Peres said that the Hamas leader will only be released if he signs a pledge of non-violence and support for the Israel-PLO accord.



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40 arrested in day-long demo against government

FORTY anti-government protesters, including 18 minors, were arrested yesterday near the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem as more than 1,000 police clashed with hundreds of demonstrators for much of the day.

The police were part of a massive force that surrounded the Prime Minister's Office, apparently to forestall what Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin warned last week would be an attempt to besiege his office during the morning's cabinet meeting.

No such siege transpired, and settlement leaders yesterday denied there were any such plans. The same leaders said last week, however, that they hoped thousands of demonstrators would remain at the "tent city" near Rabin's office yesterday morning to "disrupt" the cabinet meeting.

The confrontation between demonstrators and police began at 9:30 a.m., when plans were drawn up for an unauthorized march downtown from the tent city. When the protesters started to move, the police pushed them back forcefully into the tent encampment, and formed a human chain preventing them from approaching Ruppert Street.

Jerusalem police chief Arye Amit said the police would not allow the demonstrators to clog up the center of the city.

HERB KEINON

For the next five hours, the demonstrators stood on the hill chanting slogans, blowing whistles and banging on pots and metal serving trays.

"We are trying to drive the police crazy," said one demonstrator from Kiryat Arba, who would not give his name.

"We also want to drive the government crazy."

The police decided at one point to push the demonstrators further back from the road, and many of them wearing earplugs - charged into the crowd, pushing at anything in the way. One man was arrested, and dropped on his face as he was being carried away.

The police, who confiscated megaphones early in the morning, grabbed away the pots and trays on which the protesters were banging. They tore down a metal municipal sign that the demonstrators were using as a drum, and destroyed many of the huge anti-government banners at the site. They also tore down a couple of the tents nearest the street.

A few stones and plastic bags full of water were hurled at the police, and when this happened the police surged again into the crowd, shoving whoever

got in their way.

At about noon, the commander of the police instructed his forces to withdraw in the hope that this would calm the situation. Once the police left, the protesters drifted back into the street. The police, on orders from the same officer, then charged back into the crowd, again pushing and shoving people back into the encampment and arresting a number of demonstrators.

One of those arrested refused to cooperate with the policeman writing a report of his arrest. "You are Palestinian police," he shouted. The policeman escorted him into the paddy wagon.

Amit said that the police withdrew from the crowd in the hope that this would calm the protesters down, but that instead the protesters moved back into the street, which he said could not be tolerated. Amit said the police acted "professionally" in their use of force, and called the demonstrators - most of them in their teens - "wild."

Settlement activist Benny Katsover, one of the few settlement leaders on the scene throughout the morning, called the incident "a clear example of this government's Ceausescu policies." The government is panicking, Katsover said, and is trying to "shut people up."

Knesset to discuss no-confidence calls

DAN IZENBERG

THE Knesset is today due to debate no-confidence motions by the Likud, Tsomet and the NRP on "the visit of Yasser Arafat to Gaza, Jericho and Jerusalem."

Yesterday, Likud MK Ariel Weinstein accused Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of ordering a police assault on right-wing demonstrators in the makeshift tent camp across the street from his office to pave the way for Arafat's arrival in Jerusalem.

Weinstein also said Rabin had provoked the attack to substantiate his false claims they had planned to occupy the Prime Minister's Office.

"The demonstrators were beaten on the orders of a government frustrated by their moderation," charged Weinstein.

Weinstein MK said Deputy Commander Micky Levy - whom he did not name, but identified as the Jerusalem District deputy commander - had enticed innocent demonstrators across Ruppert St. in order to attack them.

After having encircled the tent city to hem in the demonstrators, Levy suddenly ordered his forces to withdraw, said Weinstein. When, in his words, a few dozen 16- and 17-year-olds ran across the street thinking it was all right to do so, the police attacked them.

"I heard the officer shout: 'Let's go, push them back, arrest them,'" said Weinstein, who was at the scene when the incident occurred. He accused the police of severely beating some of the demonstrators.

Jerusalem District Commander Arye Amit said the troops had been pulled back to calm the situation, but demonstrators had taken advantage of the situation to block Ruppert Street.

NEWSLINE

with MESHULAM AMIT

Amit, a deputy mayor of Jerusalem, is a former Border Police commander.

Are the police properly equipped to deal with demonstrations involving thousands of people?

The police are equipped to deal with minor incidents and riots that may occur in demonstrations involving a few hundred people. Police have all necessary methods needed to deal with such riots - water cannons, tear gas and clubs. The problem is whether the police can deal with large-scale demonstrations on a long-term basis.

How will police react if they have to deal with such protests over a long period of time?

It will be very difficult for police to deal with [it]. On the one hand, the police have to safeguard the demonstrating public, on the other hand, they must stop riots if they occur.

The government is trying to choke more than half of the population, which is taking to the street to protest Arafat's visit and the peace agreement. If the government wants to deal with the wishes of more

than half of the people by using tear gas, truncheons and water cannons, the police will not be able to cope.

Police have come under fire recently for the use of violence against demonstrators. Are there instances in which the police have no choice but to use violent means?

The police have the legal power to use reasonable force should the need arise. If seven policemen leap on one demonstrator and beat him up, this cannot be called reasonable force. But it will be interesting to see whether, if 150 people are arrested, there will be 150 indictments. Protesters should only be arrested if police can produce sufficient evidence to press charges.

The Krennitzer Report revealed last week that policemen do use violent methods and in some cases, violence is encouraged by their superiors. But an intelligent, law-abiding police force should explore other methods to cope with protesters who are exercising their democratic right to demonstrate.

Raine Marcus

Jewish protesters rampage through Old City

BILL HUTMAN

HUNDREDS of Jewish protesters went on an all-night rampage through Jerusalem's Old City on Saturday night, damaging Arab property until just before dawn yesterday. The melee occurred after the anti-Arafat demonstration downtown broke up after midnight.

Stores were damaged and vandalized, at least one car was torched and over a dozen damaged, and four police officers were injured before the riot was brought under control.

At around 3 a.m., several dozen rioters tried to break through the Mugrabi Gate entrance to the Temple Mount, police said. Border Police, however, forced the rioters away before they got inside.

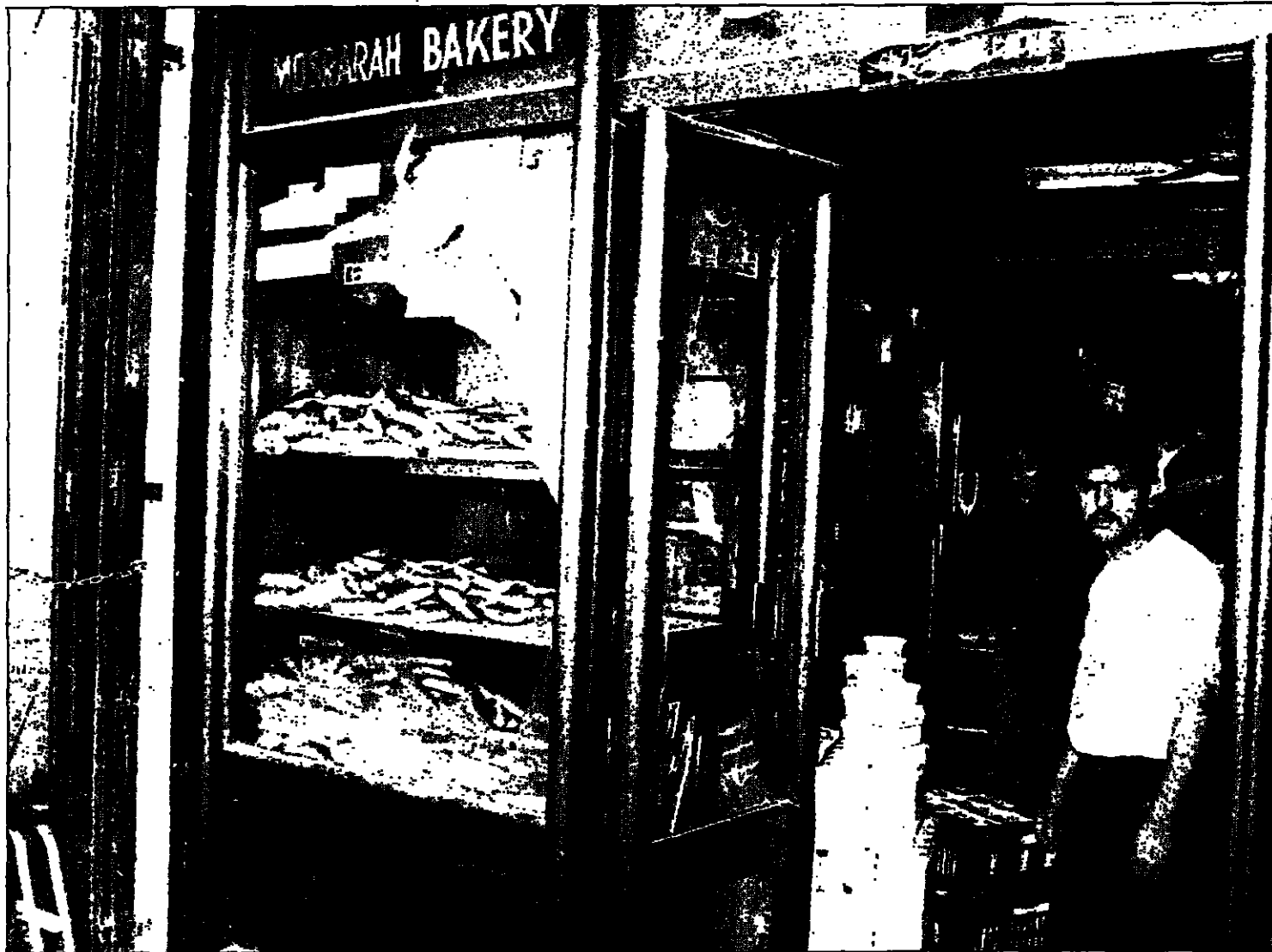
The police and Moslem Waft have agreed to shut down the Temple Mount to non-Moslem visitors until after the visit of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, in order to prevent unrest there, a police spokesman confirmed yesterday.

The rioting was concentrated in the Old City area, with police taking the rare move of closing the walled city's gates to non-inhabitants. The portcullis of the Damascus Gate was shut down at about 1 a.m. and remained closed throughout the night. A police helicopter hovering overhead helped locate the rioters.

In western Jerusalem, rioters stormed the American Consulate on Agon Street, breaking several windows. About seven consulate vehicles, including that of the consul-general, were damaged, their windows broken and bodies scraped with a sharp object.

Thousands took part in the rioting, but only one demonstrator was arrested. Police said they avoided using tougher measures against the protesters, such as rubber bullets or tear gas, in order not to injure them.

"Our main goal was not to make arrests but to minimize the damage and injury," said Jerusalem



Arab workers look at the aftermath of yesterday's riots at the Mosrarah Bakery near the Old City.

(Siden/Harari)

lem police spokesman Shmuel Ben-Ruby. "Things could have been a lot worse," he added.

It took police over four hours to bring the rioting under control, with the protesters completely dispersed by around 5 a.m.

"I was serving customers when all of a sudden I saw hundreds of people running in the direction of Damascus Gate," said Hazen Ajnuneh, 34, whose father owns a bakery on Prophets Street near the Old City.

"They started throwing stones, and we ran to take cover in the back of the store," Ajnuneh said. Several of the rioters entered the bakery, smashed the glass refrigerator doors and stole nearly NIS 1,000 from the cash register.

The Mosrarah Bakery, on the same block, was also badly damaged and robbed by the rioters. "Our best customers are Jews, so it really hurts to see this," said bakery manager Yusef Hamed, 30, as workers cleaned up the

damage yesterday morning. Several Arab-owned cars along Prophets Street were damaged. A car was torched in the parking lot adjoining Damascus Gate, as protesters streamed into the Old City. Another vehicle was overturned by the mob.

Inside the city walls, the rioters broke the signs and lights outside several stores. The windows of at least five cars were smashed, and their tires slashed.

The police spokesman said the

exact extent of the damage had yet to be determined. He said it could have been a lot worse if police had not taken the necessary steps to control the crowd.

"We were up against thousands, or tens of thousands of demonstrators, and our goal was to minimize the damage," Jerusalem police chief Arye Amit said.

"If we had used tear gas or rubber bullets there would have been many injuries, which we wanted to avoid," he added.

US consul-general protests to Olmert over property damage

BILL HUTMAN

THE US consul-general has sharply protested to Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert and the Foreign Ministry over damage to consulate property inflicted by anti-government rioters before dawn yesterday.

"This was not in keeping with our close relations with the municipality, and our overall bilateral relations," Consul-General Edward Abington told *The Jerusalem Post*.

Seven consulate vehicles, including Abington's, were damaged, and the windows of the consulate building on Agon Street broken by the rioters after the anti-Arafat demonstration Saturday night.

Stars of David were also scrawled on several of the Ameri-

can vehicles, which were parked outside the compound.

Olmert must take partial responsibility for the damage, because he was among the organizers of the demonstration," Abington told *The Jerusalem Post*.

He also questioned the police handling of the rioters, saying there should have been police at the consulate in anticipation of the unrest. The rioters forced consulate security guards inside the compound and damaged property before police arrived on the scene, Abington said.

Olmert called Abington after receiving a letter of protest from the consul-general. The mayor expressed his sorrow over the damage, the city spokesman said.

Peres decries exclusion from area conference

DAVID MAKOVSKY and news agencies

FOREIGN Minister Shimon Peres personally lodged a protest with his Egyptian counterpart Amr Moussa over Israel's exclusion from a 10-nation Mediterranean conference that began yesterday in Alexandria, under the auspices of the Egyptian government.

"The foreign minister personally protested us being excluded," diplomatic sources said, adding, "We were promised that we would be included the next time."

The meeting includes foreign ministers from Algeria, Egypt, France, Greece, Italy, Morocco, Portugal, Spain, Tunisia and Turkey. It is the first such parley since

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak proposed a Mediterranean forum in a speech to the European Parliament in 1991.

"The Cold War tended to focus on East-West relations at the expense of Mediterranean relations. We're trying to return the focus," an Arab diplomat said of the two-day meeting, in which ministers have an open agenda to discuss any issues they choose.

France, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain are all members of the European Union, working towards integration, and Turkey has repeatedly expressed interest in joining them.

Rabin doesn't offer assurances to settlers

DOUGLAS DAVIS
LONDON

PRIME Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday declined to offer any assurances about the future of Jewish settlers in the territories.

Interviewed on the BBC's *Panorama* current affairs show late last night, Rabin was asked whether he could reassure all settlers in Judea and Samaria that they would be safe and could remain where they were when authority is handed over to the Palestinians.

"It's not a matter that I am committed to them," he said. "We leave all these issues until we negotiate the permanent solution."

"So you are saying they cannot be assured they will be able to remain there forever?" he was asked by host Jane Corbin.

"They are assured that for the time the interim agreement is negotiated... they will be there. What will be the results of the permanent solution is... subject to the negotiations of the permanent

solution. I cannot assure, but I will not say that they will not stay."

In the same program, entitled *The Homecoming*, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak called on Israel to stop "delivering statements every now and then" about maintaining the unity of Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty.

"This arouses the feelings of Moslems all over the world," he said. "It will be very dangerous whenever religion is concerned. We have to say Jerusalem is negotiable and leave the final solution for Jerusalem until the parties sit with each other and they will find out how they could solve the problem of Jerusalem."

Mubarak added that PLO leader Yasser Arafat would be changed by his personal confrontation with demands he encountered when he settled in Gaza and Jericho.

Wait till July, Hizbullah warns

DOUGLAS DAVIS
LONDON

LEADERS of Islamic Resistance, the Hizbullah military wing, are planning to accelerate their offensive against Israeli targets this month, a well-placed Hizbullah source told the London-based newsletter *Foreign Report*.

"Wait for July," said the source. The newsletter noted that various distractions would evaporate this month: School and college exams would be finished the harvest would be in and the World Cup would be over.

It noted that since mid-June, long-range harassment fire by village-based Islamic extremists against Israeli targets has been replaced by well-prepared attacks

conducted by a cadre of about 500 professional fighters.

On June 20, Islamic Resistance successfully ambushed an Israeli convoy near Beaufort Castle, which is used by the army to monitor the Nabatiyyeh region.

The newsletter noted that the ambush had been carefully laid 36 hours earlier, on July 18, when members of Islamic Resistance deployed two Sagger anti-tank missile teams in the village of Kfar Tibnit, facing the castle.

When an Israeli convoy arrived

at the castle on the afternoon of June 20, two 81mm mortar teams opened fire as the troops were stepping off their bus, unable to return fire effectively.

By the time long-range artillery could be called in, the attackers had disappeared.

A senior Hizbullah source, however, denied that attack was the long-anticipated revenge for Israel's June 2 air attack on a Hizbullah training base in the Bekaa Valley of eastern Lebanon, which killed more than 30 Hizbullah recruits.

"You'll know it when it comes," the source was quoted as saying, "although we won't claim it."

Peres to Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan

FOREIGN Minister Shimon Peres arrived yesterday in Uzbekistan for a two-day ground-breaking visit to the Islamic republic of the former Soviet Union, which established ties with Israel in 1992.

He met with Uzbek Foreign Minister Saidkasimov and discussed establishing a working group to develop joint projects in agriculture and technology.

Peres also addressed the Jewish communities of Tashkent and Samarkand.

Today he will meet with the Uzbek president and other senior officials. Tomorrow he will continue to Turkmenistan, another Islamic republic, which established ties last October, and spend two days there.

IDF brings water to Netzarim

HERB KEINON

THE IDF brought a water tanker into the settlement of Netzarim in Gaza yesterday to supply the settlement with water, after it was discovered that Netzarim's water source was tampered with early in the morning.

Dalia Herskovitz, spokesman for the Gaza Coast Regional Council, said that residents of the settlement discovered that the water pump - located outside Netzarim - was damaged, and that the water was not being properly chlorinated.

She said there were signs that someone had tampered with it. Herskovitz charged that Palestinians sabotaged the water pump, and that this has been done a couple of times in the past.

The settlement complained to the IDF and police, who are investigating the incident. Mekorot workmen yesterday were repairing the damage, and it was expected that the water would begin flowing again by today.

Man drowns in Banyas waterfall

As yet unidentified man drowned yesterday in the Banyas waterfall in the Golan Heights. His body was pulled from the water after a three-hour search and a mobile intensive care unit was called to the site, but efforts to revive the man failed. Another woman who nearly drowned in the waterfall was pulled from the water in good condition and taken to Kiryat Shmona.

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2 collaborators held for attacking other collaborator

RAINE MARCUS

TWO COLLABORATORS who live in Tel Aviv were remanded for seven days in Tel Aviv Magistrates Court yesterday on suspicion of wounding a fellow collaborator and lying to police.

Police said that Mured Bada phoned to inform them that a terrorist had been caught in Tel Aviv. When police arrived on the scene they found Abdullah Elamin, who was suffering from moderate wounds after having been beaten up, allegedly by Bada and another man.

He was taken to the hospital where he was treated for his wounds and then arrested and questioned.

Bada was caught in the home of another collaborator, Tariq Hagi, who was also arrested for allegedly harboring a criminal.

Under questioning Bada told police that Elamin was a terrorist, but detectives accused him of lying.

In remanding the pair, Judge Hayuta Cohen said that more suspects were involved in the incident and that police should be allowed time to investigate. "There is a security aspect to the case, but I cannot go into detail," said Cohen.

Collaborators living in the poorer Southern Tel Aviv neighborhoods made headlines last week after 30-year-old David Mishali was allegedly axed to death by one. Police and the GSS are still hunting former Gaza resident Sa'adi Khalil Mahmoud Jabar, who is wanted for the murder.

Residents of South Tel Aviv's neighborhoods are angry over the presence of collaborators in their midst, and fear that last week's killing may not be the last.

2 border policemen jailed for assaulting Nablus man

TWO border policemen convicted of abusing a Nablus man were sentenced to jail terms by the Tel Aviv District Court yesterday, and were also ordered to compensate the victim.

Yehiel Shitrit, 21, of Beersheba, was convicted of aggravated assault and theft, and sentenced to a year in prison and two years' suspended sentence. Yehoshua Shadrunka, 19, of Bat Yam, was convicted of assault and sentenced to half a year in jail and a year's suspended sentence. The two were ordered to pay Ahmed Jenjira of Nablus NIS 2,500 each.

A third border policeman, Haim Hugi, 21, of Ramle, was convicted of assault and theft, but his sentencing was postponed.

On April 13, the three detained



PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, assisted by UN official Roger Guardia, cuts the ribbon to open a juice processing plant in Gaza. (Reuters)

Ministry: Moslems deserve more cash

HAIM SHAPIRO

OF all the religious communities in Israel, the Moslems are the most underprivileged, according to Yissael Lippel, representative in the Religious Affairs Ministry for Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who is also Minister for Religious Affairs.

Lippel made his remarks at a conference for Israel's rabbis dealing with relations between Jews and Arabs. It was sponsored by the Ariel Institute, the National Religious Rabbis Council and the Jerusalem Municipality's Torah Culture Department.

Lippel said Moslems constitute about 14 percent of Israel's population, but Moslem reli-

gious institutions receive about 1.5% of the budget allocated for religious purposes.

"If they would go to the High Court of Justice [to petition for a fairer share of the ministry budget], they would win," Lippel told the rabbis.

In contrast, he said, the Christian leaders were the most privileged, often because of a special status - almost equaling that of diplomats - obtained before the establishment of the state.

The leaders of the Christian communities enjoyed exemption from customs payments, a

right not enjoyed by rabbis, and almost complete autonomy in their holy places, he said.

Religious Affairs Ministry Director-General Ze'ev Rosenberg bemoaned the fact there was little contact between Jewish and Moslem religious leaders, and said only last week a group of Israeli Moslem religious court judges told him they would like to have contact with rabbis.

However, when Rabbi Menachem Furman of Tekoa spoke of his talks with Moslems, "the only religious group with which we can have dialogue with a clear conscience," most of the other rabbis attacked him and said that such discussions were forbidden by the sages.

Jordanian minister Anani: We want a comprehensive, just and lasting peace

AMMAN (AP) - In comments seen as an effort to mollify the public, Jordan's information minister yesterday intimated that Amman would not break ranks with other Arab states involved in the Middle East peace process.

Speaking to the official media after a regular semi-weekly cabinet session, Jawad Anani said Jordan was seeking "a comprehensive, just and lasting peace."

"If all the issues on the other [Arab] tracks were not resolved, then the peace process would be incomplete, disintegrated and threatened by instability at any

moment in the future," added Anani.

Anani's comments followed several public suggestions by King Hussein that Jordan might not wait for Syria and Lebanon to sign peace accords with Israel.

Before and after a meeting with President Clinton at the White House on June 22, the king also said that Jordan, frustrated with the lack of Arab coordination in the peace process, was moving to protect its own interests by pursuing a settlement with Israel.

In September, Jordan and Israel signed a common agenda outlining the principles for a peace

treaty and followed it in early June with a detailed agenda setting out distinct issues - mainly borders, security and water rights.

The two sides also agreed to hold negotiations in their respective territories - rather than in Washington - which has hosted the bilateral talks since negotiations were launched in 1991.

On Saturday, Anani said negotiations were expected to start in the "second half of July" near the disputed border in the Arava - a move apparently aimed at deflecting opposition by Moslem fanatics to bringing Israelis onto Jordan soil.

Jabalya guard tower: Shall it stay or go?

JON IMMANUEL

IN the Jabalya refugee camp, residents have been thinking about removing the 25 meter-high guard tower which has been one of the most prominent symbols of military occupation in Gaza.

Opinion is divided among the mukhtars of the leading families over whether it should remain as a symbol or be removed, perhaps to serve as a watch tower for life-guarders on one of Gaza's now crowded beaches, where inexperienced swimmers, especially women, plunge in fully clothed. Or maybe it will become a lighthouse at Gaza's planned new port. Opinion apparently runs in favor of taking it down.

One of the few people who knows how to dismantle it is Samir Akasha, who helped build it at a metal welding plant in Holon.

"It comes in four parts, each one bolted on to the one below. It's a fine piece of engineering. The guard room at the top alone is worth at least NS 15,000, and the tower NS 25,000. It weighs 70 tons. I can't understand why the Israelis did not take it with them," he said.

Akasha's new three-room house - built on the money he made as a welder in Israel - has a fine view of the tower, just as the tower has a fine view of most of Jabalya. He said most people want it removed because "they feel un-

comfortable that anyone who climbs it can look through their bedroom windows, especially if they have binoculars."

The barbed wire has been removed, but the fence around the military compound remains and climbing it is forbidden. The compound itself, where only two months ago children taunted soldiers and soldiers sometimes fired back, has become a police station. The grounds have been landscaped, and one of the ugliest sights in Jabalya is becoming the prettiest. The first flowers are emerging from the seeds planted the day after Israel's departure on the night of May 14-15, Jabalya's "independence" day and the anniversary of Israel's own.

The tower replaced a shorter one in 1991 to give soldiers a better view of approaching trouble in the camp. It took a dozen workers 45 days to build.

Akasha said most of the time he worked in Israel he built the miniature Eiffel towers which are popular in Arab towns as structures housing TV antennas.

Jabalya's tower also has a seven-meter antenna at the top. "Perhaps it could become a communications tower for Palestinian TV," suggested Akasha. Whatever is decided, it seems that Gaza's Eiffel Tower will have a prominent future.

Settler in administrative detention freed

HERB KEINON

AVRAHAM SHIER, a Kiryat Arba resident held in administrative detention for the last three months, was released yesterday from Sharon Prison in Tel Mond. Shier was released three weeks after appealing to the High Court of Justice against his detention. The court said then that if no more secret material against Shier was presented, he should be released at the end of his three-month term. When no more material against Shier was presented, he was released.

Shier has maintained all along that he was not a Kach activist but rather has been active in the Likud.

Nine men believed to have been active in Kach or Kahane Hal were arrested and placed in administrative detention after the Hebron massacre. Of these, five are still in custody: Baruch Ben-Yosef, Shmuel Ben-Yaacov, Ben-Zion Gopstein, Noam Federman and Baruch Marzel.

Salmovitz: Let's take advantage of our position

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

YTUD MK Esther Salmovitz intends to condition her faction's joining the government on a written commitment by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin not to withdraw to the 1967 borders and not to harm any of the Golan settlements.

Salmovitz, who met settlers on a tour of the Golan, said Ytud must take advantage of the pivotal position it finds itself in and try to implement Tsomet's commitments to its voters.

Now that Ytud has an opportunity to negotiate over joining the government coalition, Salmovitz said "it is important to stress the strategic importance of the Golan Heights and to make it clear that we will not agree on any condition to a retreat from the Golan and to uprooting settlements. I agree with what Rabin said in his election campaign: that whoever quits the Golan is abandoning Israel's security."

Communications center helps ease telephone use in Jericho

JUDY SIEGEL

THE influx of journalists to Jericho has completely clogged telephone's cellular phone services in the area, leading to the establishment of a special telecommunications center run by the private company Solan Communications at the town's Hisham Palace.

Solan Managing Director Ya'acov Solan said that journalists arriving in Jericho who couldn't use cellular phones connected to the Motorola-Bezek network were re-

ferred by Palestinian Broadcasting Company (PBC) representatives to Solan. Cooperation between the private company, the Brid el-Arab company in the territories, Bezek, Telrad and PBC overcame the problems and led to the establishment of the large center.

Solan said that this was "only the first step towards broad cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians in the telecommunications market in the area."

ISRAELI officials flew to Rabat yesterday for meetings with Moroccan officials to discuss establishing direct phone links.

David Dadon, Foreign Ministry director of Israel-Arab affairs, flew to Rabat along with Bezek International Marketing Manager Nuriel Eliasi.

The idea of direct phone and postal links was agreed upon during Foreign Minister Shimon Peres's meeting with Morocco's King Hassan last month. Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Tali Shamaiah said yesterday.

She added the two sides had

agreed in principle to establish interest sections, but no timetable was specified.

King Hassan also agreed in

principle to hold a regional business conference in Marakesh before the end of the year to which Israelis will be invited, according to Israeli officials.

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: All CommStock Staff
FROM: David Zwebner, President

I am pleased to announce that Mr. Harry Aloof, veteran successful commodity trading advisor and columnist, has joined the company as Senior Investment Advisor. Harry has served as a financial consultant for Shearson Lehman Hutton as well as advisor to some of Israel's largest banking institutions and has published various market research reports.

Harry will edit the CommStock Special Situations Report, each edition of which will be devoted to a concise, in-depth analysis of a particular market situation and the special opportunities it creates. The Report's trading recommendations on stocks, currencies and commodities are based on sophisticated studies covering over two decades of market research which Harry has carried out.

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- 3:30-6:30 p.m. Clowns: Face-Painting and Fun
- 3:30 p.m. Family lawn games
- 4:00 p.m. Jewish War Veterans of America - Presentation of the Colors
- 4-6:00 p.m. Professional Juggler
- 4:30-5:00 p.m. Model Airplane Demonstration
- 5-6:00 p.m. Clowns on Stilts
- 6:00 p.m. "Where the Wild Things Are" - Storytime based on Maurice Sendak's book-courtesy of JELLY

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At least 22 dead in USAir jet crash

CHARLOTTE, N.C. (AP) — A USAir jet crashed while trying to land in a thunderstorm at the Charlotte-Douglas International Airport, killing 22 of the 56 people aboard. The jet's tail section slammed into a house with five people inside and caught fire.

One man in a uniform was seen running from the plane yelling, "Help me, help me. I'm on fire."

At least 33 people were taken to area hospitals, including the five crew members, authorities said. Most of the injuries were from the impact, others were from burns and smoke inhalation. Many were reported serious or critical.

Flight 1016, a DC-9, had originated in Columbia, S.C., and its destination was Charlotte, said USAir spokesman Dave Shipley.

Kathleen Bergen, public affairs manager for the Federal Aviation Administration in Atlanta, said that for some reason, the plane was not able to land on an initial approach. Storms had reduced visibility to about a mile.

"They were trying to come out of the landing attempt, to come around and try to land again," just before the crash at about 6:40 p.m. (2240 GMT), Bergen said.

The plane smashed into trees and sheared off the top of telephone poles then broke into three large pieces after hitting the

ground less than half a mile from the runway, said airport director Jerry Orr.

Crews rescued several passengers who were trapped in the crumpled rear section that ended up on the carport of the house. CBS radio reported that several people in the house suffered from smoke inhalation. At least two of them were in hospital.

A motorist whose car was struck by debris from the plane was being treated at Presbyterian Hospital.

Dead bodies remained at the scene hours after the crash because officials were waiting for investigators from the National Transportation Safety Board.

Relatives and friends of passengers waited nervously late Saturday for word of their loved ones at airports in Columbia, S.C., and in Boston, where a connecting flight had arrived hours after the crash.

Chris Lewis said his uncle Steve Mattox was married Saturday and left aboard the flight with his wife, Rita. The couple was on honeymoon.

The plane was almost 21 years old and had a veteran crew, according to George Tyndall, USAir's customer service manager at the Columbia airport.

The captain had flown 1,900 hours in DC-9s, and the first officer had 3,100 hours in DC-9s.



Cambodian government troops guard Pochentong Airport in Phnom Penh yesterday.

(Reuters)

Cambodian coup attempt fails

One of the leaders arrested, another forced to flee

WITHOUT a shot being fired, the government suppressed an attempted coup yesterday, arresting one of the leaders and forcing the other — a son of King Norodom Sihanouk — out of the country.

Interior Minister You Hockry said politician Sin Song was under house arrest and Sihanouk's son, Prince Norodom Chakrapong, had been forced on to a Malaysian Airlines flight just nine hours after the attempted government takeover.

"The important thing about this is that a democratically elected government has survived," US Ambassador Charles Twining said.

This was the second time the government elected in a UN-organized poll in May 1993 had suppressed an attempted coup by Sin Song and Chakrapong.

They led a failed secessionist movement after their Cambodian People's Party lost by a small margin in the election and fled to Malaysia. The two then returned to Phnom Penh, where they have been seeking two of their party's 51 seats in Parliament.

"They tried to destroy the national institutions — the government and National Assembly," Information Ministry spokesman Sieng Lapresse told a news briefing. The men had planned to arrest the chief of staff and other high-ranking officials and military officers in an "attempt to create public disorder."

Sin Song was interior minister under the previous administration. The UN and human rights groups have accused him of involvement with death squads assigned to assassinate opponents during last year's campaign. Earlier this year, Cambodian legislators criticized the US State Department for granting Sin Song a visa to attend a Washington prayer breakfast.

Chakrapong was a deputy premier in the former administration. His father and half-brother, First Premier Prince Norodom Ranariddh, intervened to have Chakrapong expelled, rather than arrested, Sieng said, adding that

the government concurred because it "didn't want to have any bloodshed or complications."

The government first learned about the coup attempt when up to 300 armed men in 12 armored vehicles and five military trucks were spotted driving toward the capital Saturday evening, Sieng said.

At about 2 a.m. yesterday, the men were surrounded just outside the capital by government soldiers, who easily persuaded them to give up their weapons and return to the Western province of Prey Veng, he said.

"The attempt to create public disorder did not inflict any killing or any bloodshed," Sieng said.

"No shots were fired."

In Phnom Penh, the leaders of the movement were surrounded — Sin Song in his home and Chakrapong across the street in a hotel. Under instructions from the co-premiers and the co-defense ministers, who gathered at Ranariddh's house, the soldiers arrested

Eichmann's victims remembered

BUDAPEST (AP) — Jewish leaders and Hungarian officials marked the 50th anniversary of the start of the deportation of Hungarian Jews yesterday in the Raoul Wallenberg Park behind the main synagogue.

"We are here to recall dark days and dark deeds," Hungarian President Arpad Gombos told several hundred people assembled in sweltering heat. But, he added, "forgiveness is stronger than hatred and life stronger than death."

Premier-designate Gyula Horn, absent due to coalition talks, sent a message, saying "I am there in spirit to bow in memory of the victims of the Holocaust."

Recalling events 50 years ago, Horn wrote that "Hungarian Jewry is owed a historic apology."

Some 600,000 Hungarian Jews were killed by Nazis and Hungarian fascists in 1944-45.

Horn's message was in marked contrast to those by leaders of the previous center-right government, who emphasized the war losses of the Hungarian nation in general and saw the Holocaust as part of the horror of war.

Israel Meir Lau, the Chief Rabbi of Israel, reminded the assembled of the importance of remembering.

The Budapest commemoration was attended by Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, Hungary's Roman Catholic primate, Mayor Gabor Demszky, House Speaker-designate Zoltan Gal, and by Edward Teller, the Hungarian-born renowned scientist, widely known as the "Father of the H-bomb."

Memorial events are being held throughout the year in Hungary to mark the anniversary and will end next Jan. 18, when the Budapest ghetto, with its 70,000 inhabitants, was liberated by advancing Soviet Red Army troops in 1945.

Under the supervision of Adolf Eichmann, dubbed "the station master of death," Budapest Jews were rounded up and crammed into the ghetto, while those in rural Hungary were transported directly to Auschwitz and other death camps.

Russian rocket docks with Mir

MOSCOW (AP) — A rocket carrying a Russian-Kazakh crew docked with the Mir space station yesterday as a planned 130-day mission proceeded smoothly, Russian media reported.

The Soyuz TM-19, which was launched Friday from the Baikonur Cosmodrome in Kazakhstan, hooked up with Mir on schedule, the ITAR-Tass news agency said.

The mission is designed to improve relations between Russia and Kazakhstan, which have bickered over the spoils of the former Soviet space program.

Rookie cosmonauts Talgat Musabayev of Kazakhstan and Yuri Malenchenko of Russia joined three other cosmonauts aboard Mir.

Viktor Afanasyev and Yuri Usachev, who have been at the space station since Jan. 8, will return to Earth on Saturday aboard a Soyuz TM-18. Valery Polyakov will remain on the Mir to help conduct scientific, technical and medical experiments.

UN leader backs French safe area plan in Rwanda

PARIS — UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has backed a French proposal for a safe area to be set up in southwestern Rwanda to protect civilians from the civil war, the foreign ministry said yesterday.

France, worried by the relentless advance of Rwanda rebels towards the region where its military force is deployed, has appealed to the UN to endorse its plan for a "protected humanitarian area" south of Lake Kivu near the Zairian border.

In a letter to Boutros-Ghali, France said it would be forced to speedily withdraw its troops from Rwanda if it was unable to set up such an area with international support.

A senior French government official said "the advance of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) on the southern government city of Butare was putting thousands of terrified civilians to flight."

French troops yesterday began evacuating hundreds of orphans from a Rwandan city threatened by rebels and announced plans for a safe zone to protect masses of refugees fleeing the fighting, officials said.

French officials insisted the actions, part of the week-old Operation Turquoise, would remain clear of the fierce fighting between the ethnic Tutsi rebels and Hutu government forces.

Officials at an orphanage in the southern town of Butare, in the path of the rebel advance, had asked for the evacuation of its 600 children, the French military said

in a midday communique.

"An operation is under way to evacuate the children," the communique said.

UN forces contacted the rebels to obtain a cease-fire in the area during the operation, it said.

The rebels have seized more than two-thirds of Rwanda since war broke out in early April. An estimated 200,000 people have died in the bloodbath, most of them Tutsi civilians at the hands of Hutu militias.

On Saturday night, France notified the UN Security Council that it planned to establish "a humanitarian safe zone where the population would be sheltered by the combat."

Tens of thousands of civilians were fleeing the fighting, creating "a situation that in a short period of time will be uncontrollable on a humanitarian level," said the letter by French UN Ambassador Jean-Bernard Merimee.

The refugee wave could reach neighboring countries, "namely Burundi, aggravating a situation whose fragility you know well," Merimee said.

"There exists a strong risk of new massacres," added Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Catherine Colonna.

The safe zone in Rwanda's southwest would include the districts of Cyangugu, Gikongoro and half of the Kibuye district, namely the Kibuye-Gitarama axis to the N'Daba Pass, said the letter to the Security Council.

(News agencies)

Northern forces inch toward Aden

DAR SAAD (AP) — UN officials yesterday warned of alarming health hazards across impoverished, war-torn Yemen as northern forces continued their advance on Aden, stronghold of the breakaway south, under cover of heavy artillery and rocket fire.

Northern forces are now entrenched on the northern edge of Dar Saad, a southern-held Aden suburb, marking a 4-km advance since Thursday.

The city also was under heavy northern Katyusha rocket shelling, according to the Kuwait News Agency. At least 10 people, including four children, were killed yesterday morning in northern shelling of Khormaksar, said KUNA.

FBI opens Moscow office

MOSCOW (AP) — The FBI opens its first office in Russia today, the highlight of FBI Director Louis Freeh's unprecedented tour of Eastern Europe and Russia.

A chilling trio of suspected diversions of weapons-grade nuclear material and a handful of Russian organized crime cases prompted the trip, which has already expanded opportunities for FBI agents to interview witnesses, gather records and seek evidence from Germany, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Lithuania.

In two interviews during the 10-day trip that ends Wednesday, Freeh has revealed the troubling problems that led him to become

the first FBI director ever to visit the formerly communist East Bloc.

"I realized that as far as police work went, East Europe was a complete vacuum to us, including throughout Russia," Freeh said.

But Russian organized crime syndicates are mushrooming in former East Bloc nations and emerging in the United States in ways that remind Freeh of the arrival of Sicilian organized crime in America.

"The United States went to sleep in the 1920s and slept for decades as it by default permitted organized crime to grow unchecked in this country," Freeh has said. He is determined not to

repeat that mistake.

First, he said, German police gave the FBI a list last fall of purported illicit sales of nuclear material. Most all were frauds where swindlers tried to sell relatively harmless red mercury as more highly enriched radioactive material.

But there were a couple of significant cases in 1993 involving weapons-grade materials, Freeh said.

Two two kg of enriched U-235 uranium were reported missing from a site in St. Petersburg, and two nuclear fuel rods containing several kg of highly enriched U-235 were reported missing from a Russian ship in Murmansk.

ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION

ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION Southern Region MIN. OF CONSTRUCTION AND HOUSING Southern Region

Leases offered on two plots for construction of commercial buildings, Ben-Gurion Quarter, Sderot

Bids are invited from those interested in signing 3 year development agreements, after which those concerned will sign a 49 year lease with an option to extend for another 49 years, for plots, the details of which are:

Tender	Block	Part of Parcel	Plot	Approx. Area, sq.m.	Total Construction Area, sq.m. incl. service area	Minimum Price, NIS
18294/94/101	1885	43	905	1,241	1,773	724,889
18394/94/101	1885	43	922	857	780	528,681

* Urban Building Plan 1/161/94/101 shows that a two-story commercial building may be erected on each plot, 20% of the area of each plot may be used for the construction of service facilities.

† The minimum price is for the land and development costs.

‡ Not including VAT.

The Israel Lands Administration reserves the right to accept any bid, or to reject all bids, including the highest.

The invitation to tender booklet will be available from July 11, 1994, on submission of a receipt from the Post Bank for NIS100 (cash only, including VAT), for payment into Israel Lands Administration account 0-24180-0, per booklet. The booklets will be available at the Israel Lands Administration, Southern Region, Rehov Ben Zvi (above Urmel Yehalom), Beer Sheva, Tel. 07-232202, during regular working hours.

A bank check or bank guarantee for 10% of the bid total should be attached to bids.

Last date for submitting bids: August 17, 1994 (12 noon). A bid not found in the tenders box when it is opened, whatever the reason, cannot be considered.

ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION — Jerusalem District

Leases offered on plots for construction of buildings for small industry and workshops, North Industrial Zone, Ashdod

Bids are invited from those interested in signing 3 year development agreements, after which the party concerned will sign a 49 year lease with an option to extend for another 49 years, for plots, the details of which are:

Tender	Block	Part of Parcel	Plot	Approx. Area, sq.m.	Area for Registration, sq.m.	Minimum Price, NIS
20054/94/101	2046	4	138	1,037	120	391,790
20194/94/101	2046	4, 5, 34	139	1,036	120	391,382
20294/94/101	2046	5	140	1,036	120	391,382

* Urban Building Plan 1/11/105/93 shows that on each plot, a building for small industry and workshops may be built, with a building percentage of 40 per floor, total of 120% on three floors.

† Bids should be for the land, in its present state of development. The successful bidder will also pay taxes and fees to the local authority, in accordance with the bylaws.

‡ Not including VAT.

The tender booklet will be available from July 11, 1994, on submission of a receipt from the Post Bank for NIS100 (cash only, including VAT), for payment into Israel Lands Administration account 0-24180-0, per booklet. The booklets will be available at the Israel Lands Administration, at the Israel Lands Administration, 34 Rehov Ben Yehuda, Jerusalem (12th floor), Tel. 02-254121, during regular working hours.

A bank check or bank guarantee of 10% of the bid total should be attached to bids as deposit.

Last date for submitting bids: August 18, 1994 (12 noon). A bid not found in the tenders box when it is opened, whatever the reason, cannot be considered.

The Israel Lands Administration reserves the right to accept any bid or to reject all bids, including the highest.

ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION Central Region KIRYAT EKRON Local Council

Leases offered on 8 plots, for low-rise, owner-occupied construction in Kiryat Ekron — Invitation to Tender 211/94/Mem

Bids are invited from those interested in signing a 3 year development agreement, after which the party concerned will sign a 49 year lease with an option to extend for another 49 years, for plots, the details of which are:

Plot	Block	Part of Parcel	Approx. Area, sq.m.	Total Building Percentage	Minimum Price* NIS
51 Bet	3801/2802	48,29.63	587	50	70,576
52 Bet	3801/2802	48,29.63	588	50	84,444
53 Bet	3801/2802	48,29.63	589	50	80,514
62 Bet	3802	51	331	50	61,474
63 Bet	3802	51	331	50	61,474
64 Bet	3802	51	354	50	62,742
65 Bet	3802	51	353	50	62,550
70	3802	51	608	50	104,126

* Urban Building Plans 303/241/94 Mem and 600/241/94 Mem show that, on each plot, a house with a ground floor building percentage of 30 may be built, or both of the two floors may be of 25%, total on two floors 50% + a basement within the building line of the ground floor of the house + an auxiliary storehouse and a car port of 20 sq.m.

† In addition to the amount paid for the land, the successful bidder will pay for the existing development, in the form of fees and levies paid to Kiryat Ekron Local Council, in accordance with the bylaws.

‡ Not including VAT.

The Israel Lands Administration reserves the right to accept any bid or to reject all bids, including the highest.

The invitation to tender booklet will be available from July 10, 1994, on submission of a receipt from the Post Bank for NIS100 (cash only, including VAT), for payment into Israel Lands Administration account 0-24180-0, per booklet. The booklets will be available at the Israel Lands Administration, Central Region, 88 Danczyk Poleski Tzvi, Tel Aviv, Tel. 03-5638383, during regular working hours.

A bank check or bank guarantee of 10% of the bid total should be attached to bids as deposit.

Last date for submitting bids: August 17, 1994 (12 noon). A bid not found in the tenders box when it is opened, whatever the reason, cannot be considered.

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Bids are invited from those interested in signing 2 year development agreement, after which the party concerned will sign a 49 year lease with an option to extend for another 49 years, for a plot, the details of which are:

Block	Part of Parcel	Plot	Approx. Area, sq.m.	Area for Registration, sq.m.	No. of Housing Units	Development Costs* NIS
1949	7, 8, 57	4, 5	4,572	7,100	44	1,117,526

* Urban Building Plan 1/23/94/101 shows that 44 high rise housing units may be built on the plot, with a maximum area for registration of 7,100 sq.m., the main area being 4,572 sq.m., and the service area, 2,430 sq.m.

† Not including VAT.

The tender booklet will be available from July 12, 1994, on submission of a receipt from the Post Bank for NIS500 (cash only, including VAT), for payment into Israel Lands Administration account 0-24180-0, per booklet. The booklets will be available at the Israel Lands Administration, at the Israel Lands Administration, 34 Rehov Ben Yehuda, Jerusalem (12th floor), Tel. 02-254121, during regular working hours.

A bank check or bank guarantee of 10% of the bid total should be attached to bids as deposit.

Last date for submitting bids: August 18, 1994 (12 noon). A bid not found in the tenders box when it is opened, whatever the reason, cannot be considered.

The Israel Lands Administration reserves the right to accept any bid or to reject all bids, including the highest.

1948	3, 6, 57	5, 7	4,537	6,940	43	1,067,607
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* Urban Building Plan 1/23/94/101 shows that 43 high rise housing units may be built on the plot, with a maximum area for registration of 6,940 sq.m., the main area being 4,510 sq.m., and the service area, 2,430 sq.m.

Invitation to Tender 198/94/101 Mem

Block	Part of Parcel	Plot	Approx. Area, sq.m.	Area for Registration, sq.m.	No. of Housing Units	Development Costs* NIS
1948	14	22	1,187	5,810	36	528,107

* Urban Building Plan 1/23/94/101 shows that 36 housing units in nine-floor buildings may be built on the plot, with a maximum area for registration of 5,810 sq.m., the main area being 3,780 sq.m., and the service area, 2,030 sq.m.

Invitation to Tender 187/94/101 Mem

Block	Part of Parcel	Plot	Approx. Area, sq.m.	Area for Registration, sq.m.	No. of Housing Units	Development Costs* NIS
1948	5, 15	23	1,181	5,810	36	528,572

* Urban Building Plan 1/23/94/101 shows that 36 high rise housing units may be built on the plot, with a maximum area for registration of 5,810 sq.m., the main area being 3,780 sq.m., and the service area, 2,030 sq.m.

Invitation to Tender 198/94/101 Mem

Block	Part of Parcel	Plot	Approx. Area, sq.m.	Area for Registration, sq.m.	No. of Housing Units	Development Costs* NIS
1948	14-17	33	4,244	23,230	124	2,358,673

* Urban Building Plan 1/23/94/101 shows that 124 high rise housing units may be built on the plot, with a maximum area for registration of 23,230 sq.m.; the maximum housing area being 20,030 sq.m. (the main area being 13,020 sq.m. and the service area, 7,010 sq.m.).

A maximum construction area of 1,150 sq.m. of offices and halls may be built (800 sq.m. being the main area, and 350 sq.m. the service area).

A maximum area of 1,070 sq.m. of commercial construction may be erected (1,300 sq.m. being the main area, and 570 sq.m. the service area).

† In addition to the amount paid for the land, the successful bidder will pay Ashkelon Economic Co. Ltd. the above development costs, which are linked to the index of building inputs for May 1994, (published on List 15, 1994). The successful bidder will also pay fees and levies to the local council, in accordance with Appendix H of the Tender booklet.

‡ Not including VAT.

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Second fiddle in a virtuoso quartet

HELEN KAYE

and the yelping of jackals of her memories. "And now, if I want to recreate those sounds and smells of my childhood, my memory goes to Tuscany where we spent our summers."

Born in Florence, Roth immigrated with her Zionist parents shortly before the outbreak of World War II.

Her mother's family, descendants of Portuguese Marranos, was very wealthy. "People said the Roths have golden faucets that gush soda water," she says, smiling.

She's the youngest of three sisters, but won't tell her age. A cherished memory is of "listening to opera on a Saturday afternoon. We had one of those big wooden gramophones. Father would crank the handle and change the records while we sat on the sofa, hugging cushions and crying in sympathy."

Roth recalls her childhood as happy, secure and loving. "But I think that I was born with a talent for suffering," she adds with mild irony.

"I don't know from what, but I suffered. I was scared of my own shadow. I was more of a loner than lonely. Oh, it's not that I didn't have friends, but they were more conveniences than real friends."

"We spoke Italian at home and I felt myself a stranger amid the Yiddish and Polish then spoken in Tel Aviv. We dressed differently too. We wore plaid kilts and patent leather shoes when everybody else [at school] was wearing pleated skirts and boots. My sisters hated being different but I reveled in it."

Her decision to be different dates from the day an aunt told Roth that when she was born, her father had mock-groaned "not another girl," and I decided then that I was going to be famous and keep the name Roth."

The temporary nameplate on the door of her new Tel Aviv rooftop apartment reads Paska-

Roth. She met and married businessman Avraham Paska when she was 20. They have two children, daughter Dina, 20, who's studying mathematics at Tel Aviv University; and Giora, 30, who is working on a doctorate at the Weizmann Institute.

The apartment is comfortably elegant with lovingly cared for period pieces next to inviting contemporary armchairs and sofas. It looks a bit like a Sicilian villa, and it's meant to.

Roth loves to cook, and hers is a working kitchen with an ample table close by for lots of friends or family to sit at and eat the Florentine or Bolognese dishes familiar from her childhood.

Going into theater was a break with tradition, "and I never told my parents that I wanted to be an actress or a singer. I'd say I was singing, or working in the theater," she laughs. "Today I see that as false modesty because I was already quite well known, and theater isn't an anonymous profession."

audience. Acting is a joy, she maintains, even though she still suffers from acute stage fright. "What a mad profession. Actors are either in the clouds or the depths, or oscillate between the two."

Her many roles (she can't recall how many) include singing and acting in the 70s satirical cabarets by Hillel Mittelpunkt and Yehoshua Sobol, playing in Hanoch Levin comedies like *Shitz* and *Krum* and working with Oded Kottler and his innovative Neveh Tzedek Theater Group. In recent years she has played fairly consistently with the Haifa Theater where she's done the leads in such as Edna Mazia's *Vienna on Sea* and Chekhov's *Platonov*.

But she's never been a company member "because I prefer to freelance. I like to choose my roles and my stage partners. Working with decent people means more to me than the role."

Which is why she's doing *Fantasy for Piano* even though Anna Singer is a minor role. "I had to persuade myself to do this part," she says, "but it's good for me to applaud Zaharira every night. It saves me from arrogance. After all, I'm part of a virtuoso quartet."

Kid meets killer whale and - bingo!

FILM REVIEW
ADINA HOFFMAN

FREE WILLY

Directed by Simon Wincer. Screenplay by Keith A. Walker and Corey Blechman. Hebrew title: *Leshahar et Willy*. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. General audiences.

Jesse Jason James Richter Willy .. Keiko the Whale Rae Lindley .. Lori Petty Glen Greenwood Michael Madsen

A splashy buddy movie about a sullen foster child and his best friend, a three-and-a-half-ton killer whale. *Free Willy* is hard hokum to resist.

The soundtrack soars in the very first frames, and mesmerizing footage unfolds: a rising and plummeting pod of water-slicked backs and dorsal fins swish through the lapping waves.

The sun glimmers, the clouds roll by, and up from the cool depths poke a fleet of lovable cetacean faces.

The whalers' nets that immediately interrupt these saltwater festivities are not a surprise, but seem rather apt, given the captive emotional state in which those over age 12 may feel themselves trapped for the duration. Dramatically, *Free Willy* is as calculating as an aquatic-park seal trainer.

Still, it would be hard not to be moved by this exceedingly well-meaning film. The movie's environmental message is quite harmless (maybe even helpful for kids), and visually, *Free Willy* transfixes.

Director Simon Wincer and an extensive crew of underwater photographers and marine specialists have harnessed the awesome presence of a magnificent orca whale and - by adding a midjet-sized human protagonist - made that power accessible to children.

The result is a sort of *Moby Dick* with training wheels, or a waterlogged *Black Stallion*, all with a Greenpeace twist.

AT THE start of the film, Jesse (Jason James Richter) is a tough little street kid who's more of a handful than a real punk. (They don't make juvenile delinquents as cherubic as this any more, except in Hollywood.)

No crack addict he, Jesse steals rolls from restaurant tables, skateboards too much and every now and then indulges in an unpremeditated bout of graffiti.

During one such breaking, entering, and spray-painting session at an aquarium, Jesse is nabbed by the cops and sent back to his foster parents, the environmental-sounding Greenwoods (Michael Madsen and Jayne Atkinson) - a couple so warm, concerned and attractive they look like they met and married in the course of a toothpaste commercial.

They have no children and want one badly; Jesse's biological mother abandoned him years ago. He insists that she'll return, and in the meantime he takes care to treat his adoptive parents awfully.

As punishment for the damage he caused at the adventure park, Jesse must scrub the fish tank. In the course of his cleaning, he meets Willy, the stubborn killer whale who refuses to let himself be trained.

Rae (Lori Petty), the perky aquatic trainer, and Randolph (August Schellenberg), the wise old native-American park handyman, have tried and almost given up.

Get it? Jesse and Willy, the two lonesome troublemakers, become fast friends.

Soon Jesse is petting Willy's huge pink tongue and stealing whole salmon to feed him. Willy reciprocates by clapping on command and executing chains of perfect underwater pirouettes.

The foster kid has no family; the imprisoned whale misses his pod. It's the sort of cheap symmetry that makes you mad, but draws you in.

So, too, the depiction of the aquarium's owner and manager as pesty, money-grubbing opportunist who finally attempt to kill the whale to collect insurance money. Jesse, Rae and Randolph (child; woman, tribal person; if anyone's counting) fight back. Hence the title.



They help to make 'Free Willy' difficult to resist: Jesse (boy, left) and Willy (killer whale, right) are two lonesome troublemakers who become fast friends in this environmental buddy movie.

ists who finally attempt to kill the whale to collect insurance money. Jesse, Rae and Randolph (child; woman, tribal person; if anyone's counting) fight back. Hence the title.

Forget for a minute about the film's multimillion dollar advertising budget: this is a movie where good triumphs over cash, a kid wins out over the adults and a gorgeous sea creature leaps a flab-

bergasting distance through the air.

Who can resist it? And if the whale's hurdle doesn't get you, its keening will. It's worse than a baby's crying.

A wandering cellist

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

MISHA Maisky sincerely believes he is "the luckiest cellist in the world."

The 46-year-old, Riga-born Israeli cellist, who currently lives in Belgium, lists his lucky stars with a wide smile on his bearded face.

"I'm the only cellist who studied with both Rostropovich and Piatigorsky," the two legendary Russian cellists who are considered by many as the greatest cellists of this century.

"I'm also lucky because I played more than 20 concerts with Leonard Bernstein and also recorded three discs with him," the last one featuring Dvorak's cello concerto and Bloch's *Schelomo*, performed in tandem with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra.

And then there is the impressive list of pianists with whom Maisky performs chamber music and recitals - including Radu Lupu, Peter Serkin, Nelson Freire, the late Malcolm Frager and "above all" Martha Argerich, with whom I have played for over 18 years now and with whom I made most of my discs," he said.

"We recently completed recording all the Beethoven cello sonatas. I think she's one of the greatest musicians I ever met, heard and played with. She's like life itself - very complicated, very difficult, very emotional and unpredictable, but fantastic."

But Maisky's luck does not remain only in the music world. On a more personal level, for example, his eyes sparkle as he talks about his two children, his pianist daughter (seven) and violinist son (five), as well as of his American wife.

"She's the perfect combination for me," he said. "She studied music and played the piano and cello, but only as a hobby. I don't think I would have liked to marry a professional musician."

Maisky, whose mixture of gray and black hair is tied in a neat ponytail, and who sits down to the interview in jogging pants and bare feet, says he has always felt like an outsider.

"In Riga my father was a very idealist communist," he said. "He did all he could so we would not feel different. He made a point that we not hear Yiddish at home."

But the Russians, of course, did not really let them forget. And so despite the fact that Maisky never received a real Jewish education, "I felt antisemitism all my life. I felt I was born there by a mistake of destiny."

Maisky came to Israel on November 8, 1972, a day he considers

his second birthday. "I did not plan to go specifically to Israel," he said. "I just wanted to leave Russia, and Israel was the place to go, but I was never a Zionist."

That feeling, however, changed on the plane from Vienna to Tel Aviv.

"For the first time in my life I felt I belonged," he said. Which is why he keeps only his Israeli passport, never applying for a second citizenship.

But even here, he said, he could never really feel at home. "Here everyone calls me Russian. But I'm not Russian, I'm an Israeli cellist who was born in Russia."

Maisky enjoys telling the story of his life. In fact he does not need any real impetus to talk. One simple question brings a lengthy answer, in which he at once moves from one subject to another, covering the entire gamut of his current thoughts and interests, both musical and private.

Maisky would not have become a musician if his parents could have helped it.

His two older siblings started playing music at a young age. His sisters, Lina Yacobson, 10 years his elder, now lives in Israel and still plays the piano.

His brother Valeri, who played the organ and the harpsichord, was killed in a car accident in 1981.

His parents wanted Misha to do something else. "I was supposed to be the normal child," he said. "I was a very hyperactive child, and everyone was extremely surprised when at age eight I asked to play the cello. I insisted on it."

Maisky is currently here performing Bloch's *Schelomo* with the Haifa Symphony Orchestra under the baton of Stanley Sperber.

And one senses some kind of agony that he has not been invited to perform with the Israel Philharmonic for many years now.

"I'd like to know the reason why," he said. "Maybe they don't think I'm good enough or maybe it's because I'm an Israeli artist who is not a superstar in America. I play a lot in Europe and the Far East, but here everything in general is influenced by America. And in the music world it's only the Israelis who have a great American career who are invited all the time to play with the Philharmonic."

Maisky plays *Schelomo* tonight, Wednesday and Thursday at the Haifa Auditorium, with an additional concert Sunday at the Noga Theater in Jaffa.

A swinging festival with a bad case of the blues

STEVE RODAN

SNOWY White leans forward to eat his cereal in a hotel dining room as he reflects on his invitation to perform at the Haifa Blues Festival.

"They should have gotten American blues names," he said. "I guess we just came cheap."

That in a word described the three-day festival of blues at Haifa's port, which ended early Friday. The affair was strictly low budget; the prices were high. The result was mediocre.

First the down side: Once again, production problems plagued the performances. Electric guitars were repeatedly silenced by faulty cables, and for much of the time technicians were running around the stage trying to restore the sound.

Security men were constantly harassing concertgoers. In front of the stage, they were jumping into the crowd to stop fans from taking photographs. At the entrance, they wouldn't allow people to bring in water.

The lineup of performers was strictly second-class. Last year, the festival featured a cast of US blues men, including such luminaries as guitarist Buddy Guy, Koko Taylor and James Cotton. This year, the guests were mostly British white blues artists, such as White. The exception was Ray Charles. Paul Young, as popular as he was during the mid-1980s, didn't seem to fit in.

The prices were not cheap. Tickets to Ray Charles were as

expensive as NIS 180 - this for a performance that lasted less than an hour.

The upside was that the festival was a great place to see people who either have never been in this country or decades ago faded away from the flickle pop scene.

That was most evident on Wednesday night, the second night of the blues bonanza. White, a clean-cut slim Londoner, started off the set with blues and rock heavily influenced by Eric Clapton and Jeff Beck. After two songs, a bloated Mick Taylor, formerly of the Rolling Stones, joined the quartet, playing flawless slide on his sunburst Gibson SG electric guitar.

It was a working-man blues set: "You Got to Move," "I Wonder Why" and Muddy Waters's "You Shook Me."

"They like me to play with Mick Taylor, but I have my own ideas," White said over breakfast the following morning. "I'm going to spend the summer making an album."

WHITE AND Taylor were followed by John Mayall and the Bluesbreakers, the school for the icons of rock such as Clapton, Beck and Peter Green.

Mayall, close to 60 and wearing a large earring, sneakers and tank top, was his usual energetic self, singing and playing harmonica, guitar and keyboards, several of the instruments at the same time. Mayall's guitarist fit in well with

his protégé of guitarists. Buddy Winington, a huge man, made his Fender Stratocaster scream and groan playing with the speed and clarity of any guitar hero today. He was outstanding on Junior Wells's slow blues "I Could Cry."

Then came the rocker of the evening, Paul Rogers. In the 1970s, he was the front man for such supergroups as Free and Bad Company, bands that earned their reputation playing simple garage rock.

For years, these groups dominated AM radio in the US.

Today, Rogers still has a voice that rivals Led Zeppelin's Robert Plant, but in his white sport shirt and black trousers he looks like he came out of Wall Street. He twirled his microphone cord and bounced around like a teenager.

The crowd of 5,000 danced to "All Right Now," "Feel Like Makin' Love" and "Wishin' Well."

The teenagers, who weren't even born when Rogers wore shoulder-length hair, loved it. Adi Mor from Haifa sounded wistful

as he reflected on today's music.

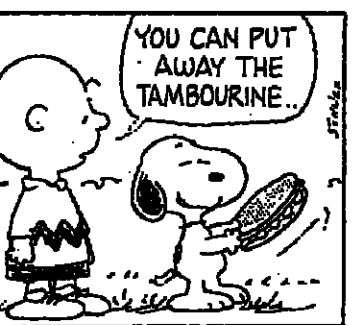
"Rock died in 1975," he said. "The music today is terrible. The problem was that our parents never listened to rock, so we never had a tradition to inherit. We're learning all this music from scratch."

The following morning, Snowy White finished his breakfast and waited for the van to take him back to the airport and London. He heard Paul Rogers from his balcony.

"Yeah," he said with a smile. "It's a young man's music."

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BY CHARLES M. SCHULZ



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Double-edged passion

THOSE who say soccer is "only a game" will have to think again after the appalling murder of a football player in Colombia because of an error he made in the World Cup. In fact, for tens of millions of people around the world, soccer has not been a mere game for a long time.

There is a suspicious air of intellectual arrogance among many of those who sniff down their noses at any sport that crosses otherwise unbridgeable ethnic and national chasms to captivate vast audiences no politician could hope to rally - even for a patriotic cause. Yet, the contempt of many non-sports writers for soccer and other sports often has an uncomfortable tone of contempt for anything that may amuse what are patronizingly called "ordinary people."

In many countries politicians tread warily in the presence of public passion over soccer. No one blinked or thought it in the least extraordinary or trivial when Ireland's prime minister abandoned a major European Union summit in Corfu last week to join Irish reporters in a crowded room to watch the home team play a soccer game. Neither did anyone gasp in amazement at Brazil's president on television humbly offering his considered opinion on player selections to the national coach - while the economy, the social fabric and the political scene went to wrack and ruin around him. No Brazilian - male or female - doubted which of the two was the most important man in the country for May and June.

In fact it is those masses in every country frustrated by the complexity of modern life, who have elevated soccer to an international issue some extremists think worth killing or dying for. It is easy for intellectuals to sniff, but there is a social lesson to be learned from this overwhelming human need to express pride in one's country, in one's local club, in the achievements of the best of the nations' citizens. Politicians do well to note that these needs must find outlet, and do equally well to be grateful when sport is that outlet. The alternatives are in Bosnia and Rwanda.

That is no exaggeration. Nigeria's dictators decided to move against president-elect Masood Abiola as the national team played its first game in the United States. Since Nigeria

has an excellent team on a winning streak, the political crisis simply fizzled. No self-respecting Nigerian would be seen at a demonstration over mere politics while television relayed the game live. This passion for a mere game indeed has its darker side, as exemplified by the unique Football War over a disputed game between El Salvador and Honduras in 1969 which lasted two weeks and killed 2,000 people. The ability of a nation to unite behind a World Cup football team was exploited to the hilt by Benito Mussolini in 1934, two years before Hitler tried to do the same with the Olympics and had his racist theme smashed by black athletes. In 1978 Argentina's anti-dictatorship guerrillas won enormous political support merely by promising not to disrupt the World Cup.

For Third World countries, the supreme soccer festival provides a rare opportunity to win respect and influence on the world stage and a first appearance is often the precursor of ever greater benefits. Cameroon reported a huge increase in international business and investment interest following its triumphant run through the 1990 championships. Before that, it was a country few CEOs in any company could find on a map.

The boost given to Asia, the Middle East and Africa by the performance of Korea, Saudi Arabia and Nigeria this year has prompted African and Asian sports officials to seek extra places for their region in the 1998 tournament in France. The move is near certain of success and will boost some more Third World nations into international visibility.

It is unfortunate that soccer's image to raise a national profile has this time proved to be a double-edged sword. Before the Mondial, Colombia's media was stressing the chance the nation had to counter its woeful image as a drug-crazed, corrupt, violent country attracting few tourists or major businessmen. The scandals surrounding the team were climaxed by the murder in Medellin of Andres Escobar, who scored an own goal in Colombia's 2-1 loss to the United States. His murder probably has more to do with frustrated high-stakes gamblers than hurt national pride, but it is certainly the worst own goal against their country the miserable killers could possibly have scored.



'Congrats! I came to save you!'

Arafat comes to Gaza

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

FOR most Israelis, there was nothing festive about Yasser Arafat's visit to Gaza and Jericho.

It wasn't designed to be a symbol of reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians, and didn't bring Arafat into Israel proper. But it was certainly made possible by the new relationship between the two peoples.

Most Israelis are willing to give the Oslo Agreement and its sequel a chance. They just prayed the visit would go off smoothly, without Arafat being hurt or right-wing demonstrations getting out of hand.

A minority, which views Arafat as a murderer whose rightful place is in a cage, saw the visit as a triumph for the Oslo Agreement as the beginning of the end of the State of Israel, prayed for the opposite. Those Israelis also sought to find hidden messages of doom in Arafat's rather banal speech upon his arrival in Gaza.

For most Palestinians, Arafat's visit was a festive event - though not unequivocally so. The Palestinians had hoped for a fairy-tale scenario in which Arafat would sweep in as president of an independent state, march straight to the helm and steer the Palestinian ship of state confidently to a prosperous haven.

Instead, he arrived for a very brief visit, one which appears to have been marked primarily by the efforts of the Palestinian security forces to ensure that he emerge from the ordeal alive.

Whether the visit will help crank up the self-administration machinery is yet to be seen.

The main question now is whether Arafat will return to Gaza and Jericho as acting head of the new administration rather than just a passing visitor with a

flair for theatricals.

Many Israelis - and some Palestinians - harbor doubts as to whether Arafat, leader of a national liberation movement in exile, living a life shrouded in secrecy, is capable of turning into the head of a civil administration which must bring a modicum of

He came and saw, but didn't conquer. Soon he'll visit Jerusalem - and the right had better learn the score

normalcy into the lives of a traumatized people.

THE PROBLEM, according to Gaza psychiatrist Dr. Eyad al-Sarraj, is that the relationship between the Palestinians in the territories and Arafat has never been a normal one.

"The relationship with him was a kind of romance rather than a partnership. He was always the faraway lover we could not meet or hold."

According to Sarraj, Arafat will have to involve himself in the mundane work of setting up what will hopefully be a democratic political system.

Is he capable of it? And if he isn't, will he be willing to delegate power in such a way as to enable the autonomy to develop?

For Israel, the most burning question is how to stop the PLO leader breaking through the lines and establishing political facts beyond the principles agreed upon in Oslo.

In practical terms, the problem will manifest itself most strongly over Jerusalem.

Israel would be ill-advised to try and prevent Arafat, a Palestinian leader and a Moslem, coming to Jerusalem to pray in the mosques on the Temple Mount. But it must ensure that when the visit takes place - and it will happen before the permanent settlement between Israel and the Palestinians is achieved - Arafat will not diverge from acceptable parameters.

Paradoxically, it is the right which is hampering this goal, having inadvertently laid down the totally erroneous equation that Arafat's inevitable visit to Jerusalem will be tantamount to the city's repartition and loss to the Jewish people.

What Israel ought to do (and Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert might join forces with his predecessor Teddy Kollek on this) is get Jordan's King Hussein to be the second Arab leader (after Sadat) to visit Jerusalem - before Arafat.

But there's one thing the right must come to terms with: The Palestinians are well on their way to gaining independence from Israeli rule, and it is they who will determine who will lead them.

Israel must do its utmost to ensure that the process doesn't spiral out of control. It will be able to do so only once the right stops behaving as if there is any real alternative to the current process except more war and bloodshed.

The writer, a political scientist, is a member of the Labor Party Central Committee.

Hot line

SARAH SHAPIRO

WHEN it turned out that the Norwegians had been conducting secret talks between Israel and the PLO, I called my mother in Los Angeles. What else could I do? She said we had to seize this historic opportunity, that we must do something to prevent another war.

When they said Israel would recognize the PLO and the PLO would recognize Israel's right to exist within secure borders, I called my mother. She was thrilled to tears.

When Shimon Peres held Yasser Arafat's hand on the front page of all the newspapers, my stomach turned over uncomfortably. I called my mother. Her voice broke with joy. I asked her if she knew what jihad meant.

When Reuven David Miller announced on the one o'clock English-language news that Israel would provide the new Palesti-

Who gains from the peace process? Bezek, of course

tinian police force with machine guns, I thought I'd heard wrong. I called my cousin Shoshana in Jerusalem's Har Nof. She said I hadn't.

When Arafat didn't change the PLO Covenant as he'd said he would, I called my friend Miriam in Efrat. We made bitter, clever jokes for 35 minutes, until I remembered it was long distance.

When Hamas and the new Palestinian police force arrived at a working agreement not to interfere in each other's activities, I called my friend Roberta and made many witty sarcastic remarks about Peres.

WHEN MY friend Haya, a Dutch convert, called to tell me that in 10 days she would marry a man, also a convert from Holland, whom her children loved so dearly that they couldn't bear the seven-day separation period before the wedding, I was thrilled to tears. My voice broke with joy. She said quietly, "I am so grateful. It's a dream come true."

When the son of our downstairs neighbor was killed by Hamas while driving his car home to Bnei Brak, I called our rabbi. He listened in silence.

When Arafat wouldn't condemn the murders in Afula, I called my friend Honey in Kfar Sava and said unprintable things.

When Arafat said they must continue the very important jihad for Jerusalem, I called my mother and told her I told you so. She said: "But Arafat says that means a struggle for peace." I started screaming uncontrollably.

I called my mother back to apologize.

When Haya's husband, to whom she had been married three months, was killed by Hamas, first I called my mother, then I called out to God.

I heard my mother crying on the other end, but God's answer I couldn't pick up. There was static on the line.

During my next weekly political analysis with Miriam, I learned her husband's windshield had been smashed the night before by a rock. Miriam said: "Look, dear, there's going to be a jihad in this country because no one's doing anything to stop it from happening."

I called Honey and told her what Miriam had said. Honey, who doesn't look as if she's religious, said: "Doesn't God have something to do with it? If you look at Israel logically, it shouldn't even have survived its first war. Israel's been one miracle after another ever since 1948."

When Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert said that Arafat would not be allowed to enter Jerusalem, I wanted to call and thank him but I was too shy.

Then I tried to call Miriam to say Ehud Olmert, at least, was trying to do something to stop it, but her line was busy.

When they argued in the Knesset about whether or not we should insist Arafat give us two weeks' notice before coming to Israel, as he had said he would, I called Roberta. We cackled wickedly and sang a fine rendition of "It's too late, baby, now it's too late," by Carol King.

So you see, dear fellow citizen, it's not Arafat, or Peres, or Yitzhak Rabin, or the possibility of jihad that really gets me down. It's that the only thing I do about any of it is support Bezek.

I still call my mother every week, but she's so worried about the peace process herself that these days, I haven't the heart to bring it up.

Nowadays, we talk about O.J. Simpson.

The writer is a Jerusalem-based freelancer.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE CASE OF AVNER SHAKI

Sir, - Congratulations to attorney Ganan who had the tenacity and good judgment to expose the biased decisions of an attorney-general who disgraced his position by closing the files against MK Avner Shaki (your report of June 20). In view of the upcoming trials of other MKs, this leniency was severely detrimental to our system of justice.

ESTELLE FRIEDMAN
Petah Tikva.

REVISIONIST HISTORY

Sir, - We repeatedly hear statements from the PLO spokesmen that they need substantial sums of money from foreign donors not to "build" an infrastructure, but to "rebuild" one. According to an English dictionary published by Random House in 1992, the word "infrastructure" means "basic facilities and systems serving country, region or city, including transportation, communications, power and schools."

The question is whether the Israeli army during 27 years of occupation did in fact destroy any transportation, communications or power systems, or schools. The impression given the world again and again is that a developed Palestinian entity existed before 1967. Of course, the opposite is true. By any criterion it was a backward, primitive population living for the most part in abject poverty. One fact that should be repeated over and over again is that all the modern universities in the Arab areas were actually founded under Israeli occupation.

We can do without more revisionist history.

A. DAVID MARKS
Jerusalem.

UJA COVERAGE

Sir, - Teddy Kollek's column of June 24, "It's a family affair," singles out the United Jewish Appeal as "vital for the continued existence and coherence of the Jewish people."

However, the UJA doesn't fund activities beyond the Green Line, except for the area annexed to Jerusalem. Why are the settlers and settlements excluded? The explanation sometimes given is that US income-tax policy is the culprit. That doesn't hold. As a confidence-building measure, the UJA should extend coverage to the settlers and the settlements.

FRANCINE FIERSTEIN
Jerusalem (Scarsdale, NY).

LUBAVITCHERS FROM THE SOVIET UNION

Sir, - Towards the end of her interesting article of June 17 about the arrest of the sixth Lubavitcher Rebbe by the OGPU in the Soviet Union in 1927, Sue Fishkoff mentions that there was always a Hadassah presence in the Soviet Union, albeit underground. She quotes Bezael Schiff as wondering where the students of the disbanded yeshivot went.

In 1945, at the end of the war, an agreement was reached between the Soviet Union and the restored Polish government which provided for the return of Polish citizens who had escaped to the Soviet Union and had lived out the war years there.

Thousands of Jews were able to return to Poland, and most of them continued on their way west, into the displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria. Significant numbers of Jews who were Soviet citizens managed to get out of the Soviet Union in the guise of Polish citizens. Among them were some hundreds, if not more, Lubavitchers.

In March 1947, I had the pleasure of being a guest of the Lubavitcher group at their Purim celebration in the Jewish DP Camp in Pocking, Germany, as the JDC representative in the area. So that is where some of them went, and from Pocking they went in due course to the various countries where the other DPs went - to Israel, the US, Australia, etc.

By the summer of 1950, at which time only a small fraction of the Jewish DP population was left in Germany, there were still some Lubavitchers there, because, as one of them told me, the Rebbe had said there was still work to do there and the job had not been completed. ABRAHAM COHEN
Tel Aviv.

CLEAN UP THE CITY

Sir, - At a time when garbage piles up in unlined, holy Jerusalem, the eternal capital of the Jewish people, when the stink rises to high heaven, our esteemed mayor is busy elsewhere.

Oleg, your rabidly partisan cartoonist, portrays Ehud Olmert as a knight in shining armor, defending the city against Peres and Arafat (June 28).

I suggest His Worship gets down from the ramparts and attends to the job he was elected for: cleaning up the Holy City.

DAVID D. RUBINGER
Jerusalem.

MISAPPROPRIATION OF FUNDS

Sir, - "The partitioning of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel are fundamentally null and void, whatever time has elapsed..." (Palestine National Covenant, article 19). This embodies the official doctrine of the PLO, whose chairman is Yasser Arafat. Not one word of it has been changed since its signing in Cairo in 1968.

I now see in the headlines that Yasser Arafat is asking Rabin for more financial aid and if the present government's past record is anything to go on, he may well get it. After all, Israel is already giving the "Palestinians" NIS 180 million a year, according to a public statement by Shimon Peres on October 26. This would mean simply that the taxes paid by every Israeli to ensure the existence of their country would be going into the hands of an organization which officially calls for its destruction. Indeed, they already are.

In the law, this is called "criminal misappropriation of funds," but apparently the present government is above the law. If it were not, the entire cabinet might be in jail.

DONN O'MEARA
Petah Tikva.

THE TRANS-ISRAEL HIGHWAY

Sir, - The June 22 article about the Supreme Court case regarding the construction of the Trans-Israel Highway completely misrepresents the court's decision. Contrary to the headline, the court in its proceedings implied that no work on the highway would be permitted to begin. Indeed the attorneys of the Israel Union for Environmental Defense were asked to turn immediately to the court for an injunction if work was begun.

This situation will last until the state responds to the court's show-cause order, stating specifically why it did not furnish an environmental impact statement for the entire length of the 220-km. highway.

The Supreme Court decision was an important victory for the Israel Union for Environmental Defense, as well as for the Israeli public that cares about responsible planning and transportation policy which is environmentally sustainable.

DALIAH SETAREH
for the Union for Environmental Defense
Tel Aviv.

Two sad, mad, bad years

THE elegant pamphlet the government published on its second birthday can't cover up its failures.

How is it that virtually nothing remains of all the lying, eve-of-election verbiage? And how, after two years in office, is it well-nigh impossible to present one single real achievement of this government? And there is no indication that things will improve.

More than 40 years ago, when I became commander of the Paratroop Corps, I was faced with a dilemma. Following the War of Independence, the army had failed in almost every operation it undertook. Until we created Unit 101.

One of the things I did to solve the problem was conduct frank, open investigations. Sometimes, they led to painful disclosures. But they enabled me to learn things, to draw immediate conclusions after every operation or reconnaissance mission. Without those investigations, we would have only continued deluding ourselves.

But this government isn't doing anything like that. It is leading us, as well as itself, astray. It has learned nothing. Its path is strewn with lies after lies. Its denials notwithstanding, a Palestinian state has, in effect, been established - in Gaza and Jericho, for now.

A "Palestinian government-in-the-making" is operating in Jerusalem, and no one is doing anything to stop it. Thousands of terrorists from all the terror groups have been released from jail, while our missing servicemen are still in enemy hands.

The government claims to have introduced security measures. And last week it was doing a lot of talking about security - as though trying to soften the impact of Yasser Arafat's visit. Statistics and graphs were brought out and we heard an abundance of statements from military experts.

But what are words when, during the same week, a Jew was murdered in a terrorist attack in Tel Aviv's Shapira neighborhood and another was badly wounded in Neveh Ya'acov in Jerusalem?

A tourist, thought to be Jewish, was stabbed at an Old City gate, and in the Katif sector of Gaza, shots are fired daily at soldiers who have been ordered to keep a low profile.

ARIEL SHARON

With the government's indifference to victims of terrorism and its disdain when they happen to be settlers, it is even more disturbing to see photos of ministers embracing PLO leaders.

THE GOVERNMENT stridently claims "a new national priority."

It's pitiful to see this government patting itself on the back while it loses ground rapidly

Its results? Instead of continued mass immigration, the influx of immigrants has almost ceased. And in the wake of the Oslo Agreement, Jewish agriculture - that epitome of Zionist creativity - is being destroyed.

But the government has succeeded in bringing about a flowering of Palestinian agriculture in Gaza.

The cost of living is rising threateningly, and there is a severe shortage of housing, whose price soars daily.

Where is that "excess supply" of flats this government claims I built? Flats are hard to find today, either in the Negev or in Galilee. Certainly in Jerusalem.

Serious unemployment continues. Kupat Holim is collapsing. Cases of official corruption are on the rise. Education is failing: fewer and fewer pupils are studying Israel's history or know anything

POSTSCRIPTS

A BRITISH veteran attending D-Day ceremonies in France shuddered when he came across his own grave.

"I could not believe my eyes. It was my name, my age and my unit carved there," said Dennis Russell, 74, who had gone to the cem-

about the Land of Israel. A truly talented generation is being raised - but it isn't aware of its Jewish or Israeli identity.

Once again, Jews are wandering - in New York, Los Angeles, Bangkok and everywhere else.

The government's done a lot of talking about "the window of opportunity," and "confidence-building measures" - but what are we seeing in this "peace" process? The Syrians rearming at an unprecedented rate, Egypt building a huge army - the largest in the Middle East - and Iran forging ahead in creating a nuclear power.

This government faces them fearfully. It rushes to make concessions over strategic assets on the Golan Heights, without getting anything in return. It presses for a retreat to the 1948 borders in Judea and Samaria; it's giving way in Jerusalem.

The prime minister is fighting Jewish settlements and arbitrarily denying their importance to our national security.

Instead of warning the Syrians not to dare even think about going to war, he himself is preparing the ground for a withdrawal from the Golan by threatening Israel's citizens with war if we don't hurry to quit the Golan.

This logic is incomprehensible. Everything is topsy-turvy. They say the opposition is always looking at the black side of things. But that's incorrect.

Even the opposition would like to feel that the country is advancing more confidently, that the danger of war has receded, that peace is approaching, that immigration has burgeoned.

But that's not what's happening. A sad "birthday," indeed.

The writer, a Likud MK, is a former minister of defense and housing.

etery in Hermantville, Normandy, to remember dead comrades.

"I can only think some unidentified body was found and... one of my pals thought I had copped it (died)," he said, explaining that he had been taken from his unit for treatment after being wounded.

Poor Health

You May Fire WWI Ready: Senator

Poor Health

You May Fire When Ready, Senators

By ADAM CLYMER

ONE of the real Bob Dole's just stood up. Not the one Pat Moynihan had been counting on, the World War II veteran whose own life has been shaped by rehabilitative medicine, paid for by the government and his neighbors in Russell, Kan., and whose voice last fall was steady, or pretty steady, for the principle of making sure all Americans had health insurance. Mr. Moynihan, the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, has said for months that he and Mr. Dole would cut a deal. Instead, the Bob Dole who stood up Wednesday to announce a Republican health care plan was the Dole who is all but running for President in a party where the political right is more dominant every year. He offered a plan for insurance law changes and \$100 billion in subsidies for the very poor over five years, and sounded almost embarrassed about it, saying it was "not a gimmick." He boasted about other things it was not — a program with a "big, big, big bureaucracy," or new taxes, or cost controls — and insisted he'd never thought insuring all Americans was more than a "goal." His reconstruction: "I didn't object to everybody being covered."

The minority leader's choice of paths was one reason the Finance Committee seemed to be going all over the compass as it staggered to adopt a health care bill yesterday. But not the only reason, Mr. Moynihan had

Bob Dole takes aim as his troops prepare to mount a siege.

gambled on the committee's historic collegiality and led it gently while waiting for a consensus. He lost his gamble and the committee was already lurching about when Mr. Dole came to argue for a new course.

Still, as the debate over national health insurance approaches a new phase — consideration, possibly simultaneous on the floor of the House and Senate — the Kansas Republican is an example of how new characters will be taking center stage.

Move over, Harry and Louise, and Pat, and and maybe even Bill and Hillary. Not only Mr. Dole, but Newt Gingrich in the House will be leading the opposition. And Mr. Moynihan and all the other Democratic committee chairmen will no longer be starring, but playing supporting roles behind their majority leaders, Senator George J. Mitchell of Maine, and Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri. It will be their job to meld the bills that different committees in both houses have voted out — and to try to assemble packages that can find majorities.

The ultimate questions are how to cover all Americans and to control costs. The obvious route to universal coverage is to get almost all the way there by requiring employers to insure their workers, and then requiring the rest to buy insurance, while subsidizing the poor. But the intense opposition of organized small business has made that very hard. That was President Clinton's proposal, and three Congressional committees before Finance followed it more or less. Similarly, the Clinton plan depended on

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Alma Webb Magnum

Many refugees who flee Haiti leave from Leogane, a seaside village where many boats are made for that purpose. A shipbuilder, above, stood before a new hull in April.

Haiti Longs for Help From the Land It Fears

By HOWARD W. FRENCH

FOR months, as an impassioned debate over Haiti has built in the United States, Haitians, from political leaders to the man in the street, have been locked in a Strangelovian dispute with themselves over whether foreign force should be used to restore the exiled President, the Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

The debate, whether expressed in the quick gesticulations of the Creole-speaking slum dweller or the suave French locutions of the wealthy merchants outside Port-au-Prince, lays bare a signal feature of this country's dysfunctional political culture: a visceral ambivalence toward the giant neighbor Haitians alternately lionize and demonize.

Haitians of all stripes believe that for every crisis of their own there is a solution in Washington — or, better yet, in the gleaming American Embassy here.

And yet the least scratch beneath the surface reveals an underside of this obsession: Even after almost 200 years of inde-

pendence, many Haitians implore nearly all of their country's ills to the United States. Listen, for example, to Jacques Petitjean, a grade school teacher who spoke at water's edge last month near the coastal town of Mountrouit even as he and others tried to begin a journey by flimsy boat toward the mecca known as Florida.

"The Americans are not interested in helping us at all," he said with the smirk of a man who is wise to the truth. "We know they have discovered something valuable in our country and are trying to drive us all out so they can seize it. If they leave anyone behind, it will be their rich friends who have been helping them kill us." Nevertheless, he is heading to the country he refuses to trust.

In recent months, ironies like these have piled up in tandem with the mutilated corpses that have become common sights at daybreak in Port-au-Prince's litterstrewn streets. Haiti's military leaders, aiming for the heartstrings of Americans, mount campaign after campaign denouncing the international embargo against their country as an act of genocide. Meanwhile soldiers hunt down dissidents in their homes and shoot boat people trying to flee.

If G.I.'s ever invade Haiti, any welcome will be ambivalent.

In Parliament, the most strident voices are those of politicians like Bernard Sansaricq, one of several senators whose possession of an American "green card" relieves them of worry about one day being refused entry to the United States.

Invoking Independence

Mr. Sansaricq, who was a frequent presence on the American Airlines run to Miami until flights were suspended last month, invokes Haitian independence heroes like Toussaint L'Ouverture and Jean Jacques Dessalines as he vows resistance to the death against any United States attack on his country's sovereignty.

No individual better incarnates the tortured ambivalence toward the United States than Father Aristide himself. He was known for virulent anti-Americanism long before he won his country's first democratic elections in 1990; he used to refer to the United States simply as "the cold land to the north." But he chose Washington as his place of exile after he was overthrown.

To replay his recent pronouncements on the appropriateness of foreign military intervention is to listen to both sides of the debate at once. In one voice, he seems to ask for intervention to help restore him to power after 34 months of exile. "That action can be the surgical removal of the thugs within hours," he said in an interview with this newspaper last month. But at other times, he seems resolutely opposed. "I am against a military invasion," he told an interviewer from National Public Radio last week. He said he would not even agree to return to power under such conditions.

Newly exasperated with his President, Robert Malval, the ephemeral prime minister appointed by Father Aristide last year,

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Equality, the Sequel A crime trend no one likes.

By Clifford Krauss

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The Ideology Fad Japanese politics, by the book.

By David E. Sanger

4

Greenbacks The dollar is still the currency of choice from Argentina to Lithuania.

By Thomas L. Friedman

4

The High Court's Trench Warfare

Fierce Combat on Fewer Battlefields

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

THE Supreme Court term that ended Thursday was a struggle: While the Justices decided fewer cases than in any term since 1955, many of the decisions they produced revealed deep divisions and some bore the marks of raw ideological combat. On a Court largely without a prevailing ideology, cases have to be won and coalitions built case by case.

The fleeting promise of unanimity that an early ruling in a sexual harassment case appeared to offer back in November faded quickly once the Court began to wrestle with private-property rights, redistricting, religion and public schools, and the free-speech rights of abortion protesters.

Two voting-rights cases that disappeared from view after they were argued on Oct. 4, the first day of the term, finally emerged on the last day, and it only then became apparent what had taken so long.

Justice Clarence Thomas, in his most revealing personal statement since joining the Court three years ago, produced a 58-page attack on what he described as the "disastrous misadventure" of 30 years of judicial interpretation of the Voting Rights Act.

Writing a separate opinion in a Georgia voting-rights case, Justice Thomas said judges had mistakenly assumed power under the law to draw district lines on the basis of race. In doing so, he said, the judiciary had "given credence to the view that race defines political interest" and that "members of racial and ethnic groups must all think alike."

Only Justice Antonin Scalia joined his opinion. Four other Justices — John Paul Stevens, Harry A. Blackmun, David H. Souter, and Ruth Bader Ginsburg — attacked it as a "radical" attempt to argue policy rather than law.

While Justice Thomas's view has no chance of prevailing, the exchange itself highlighted the Court's current dynamic: Justices Thomas and Scalia at the extreme conservative end of the Court's spectrum, and Justices Blackmun, Stevens, Souter and Ginsburg occupying a place that, while certainly not classically liberal, can be defined as liberal relative to where the Court is today.

These four voted together in many of the term's closely divided and most important cases. They were on the same side in 11 of the term's 14 rulings that were decided by 5-to-4 votes, a group that included major rulings on property rights and criminal law as well as voting rights. In eight of those 11 cases, the four Justices were the dissenters. They prevailed as a group only in the three criminal-law rulings in which Justice Anthony M. Kennedy joined them.

Neither Justices Thomas, Scalia, Sandra Day O'Connor or Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist ever joined the four in a 5-to-4 decision. However, several of the term's most important decisions were 6-to-3 rulings, with a ma-



Jody Emery

majority composed of Justices Kennedy, O'Connor, Blackmun, Stevens, Souter and Ginsburg. These included a decision that a public school district that New York State created for a village of Hasidic Jews was unconstitutional, and another decision barring jury selection on the basis of sex.

Justice Kennedy occupied the gravitational center of the Court. He was never on the losing side in a 5-to-4 decision, and he dissented in only five of the term's 84 cases. His most notable dissent came on Thursday, when he broke with the Chief Justice and joined Justices Scalia and Thomas in their view that an injunction against disruptive demonstrations at a Florida abortion clinic was unconstitutional.

Justice O'Connor dissented 10 times, the next-lowest number. The most frequent dissenter was Justice Blackmun, who differed 28 times. Justice Blackmun is retiring after a dramatic 24-year tenure that saw him traverse the Court's ideological spectrum to end his career as the Court's most liberal member.

President Clinton's nominee to succeed him, Judge Stephen G. Breyer, whose all-but-certain confirmation will follow hearings that begin July 12, will almost surely fit comfortably with Justice Blackmun's three allies. Just

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Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

Senator Bob Dole at work last week.

The Nation

Women Doing Crime, Women Doing Time

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

WOMEN wearing judges' robes or corporate pinstripes have become everyday images of society's changing gender roles. But what about women attired in Day-Glo prison jumpsuits?

The number of women in state and Federal prisons increased from 12,331 to 43,845 from 1980 to 1990, according to the Justice Department. That is an increase of 256 percent, compared with a 140 percent rise in the male prison population.

Arrests of women for serious felonies climbed 32.5 percent from 1988 to 1992, reaching 62,936 nationwide, according to a Justice Department canvass of more than 8,000 police agencies. The 1992 arrest figure is still

wayward women harshly, be they first-time drug offenders or women who fight physically with husbands or boyfriends, even if they say the men hit them first.

"Simply put, it appears that the criminal justice system now seems more willing to incarcerate women," Meda Chesney-Lind, a University of Hawaii criminology professor, writes in a book awaiting publication.

Female criminals remain different from male wrongdoers in many respects. The percentage of women in prison for drug and property crimes is considerably higher than for male inmates. A recent study in Massachusetts, for instance, found that only 22 percent of the women imprisoned there were incarcerated for violent offenses, compared with 48 percent of the men behind bars.

Nationwide, almost two-thirds of the women in prison for violent crimes had been found guilty of assaulting or killing relatives or intimates, the Justice Department said. By contrast, violent males in prison were more than twice as likely to have assaulted or killed strangers. (But that ratio may change if the new attention being paid to spousal abuse results in more assault convictions for abusive husbands.)

Still, some argue that crimes committed by women, although far smaller in number, may nonetheless be more serious for society at large than the statistics reflect since rising rates of illegitimacy and divorce have made women even more responsible for future generations — thanks in no small measure to the irresponsibility of some men.

"Girls become mothers, and mothers influence the behaviors of their offspring," Joan McCord, a professor of criminology at Temple University, argued in an article published last year, "so that the net effects of antisocial behaviors may be greater for females than for males." A Justice Department study completed in March found that two-thirds of the women in prison have at least one child under the age of 18.

Early criminologists assumed that violence and criminal behavior were essentially masculine traits, and that the few women who did commit acts of violence suffered some sort of biological abnormality.

Caesar Lombroso, a 19th-century Italian physician, carried home bags of women's bones from the prisons of Turin to look for anatomical distinctions between criminal and noncriminal women. Lombroso's conclusion that abnormal cranium size and excessive body hair were the telltale signs of female criminal behavior were cast aside by the early 20th century.

Depicted as Deviants

But the depiction of female criminals as sexual deviants persisted through the first half of the century, until most scholars concluded that criminal behavior was mostly determined by social and economic factors. No longer was criminality a matter of



The woman behind bars, above, was jailed in Opa Locka, Fla., for buying drugs from an undercover police officer.

Getting more like men? Here is one area where no one wants the sexes to be equal.

small compared with the 452,453 men arrested for violent crimes that year.

The 8,000 law-enforcement agencies which responded to the canvass cover some 185 million Americans. While it does not list all people arrested in the United States, it is considered an accurate indicator of the types of crime being committed.

The fact that the rate of arrests for women under the age of 18 increased in those four years by 63 percent, compared with 45.4 percent for male youths, has attracted growing attention from law enforcement experts.

The swelling number of women being arrested and incarcerated raises questions about whether women are becoming more aggressive — in other words, more like those men who get caught up in lives of violence.

For now, a wide array of criminologists have concluded that as long as organized crime, neighborhood gangs and narcotics networks remain bastions of male domination, the answer is no, or at least not yet.

Many criminal justice scholars attribute the rise in the female crime rates more to the growing poverty among young, unattached mothers and the new ways society treats women than to the wider opportunities they have. More men are abandoning their families, leaving women with the burdens of children, and with the temptations to commit crimes to care for them.

Meanwhile, many studies find that the justice system, after decades of imposing lighter sentences, is more likely to treat

testosterone. In the widely discussed book "Sisters In Crime: The Rise of the New Female Criminal" (McGraw, 1975), the criminologist Freda Adler foresaw a "rising tide of female assertiveness" that would lead tens of thousands of women to step "across the imaginary boundary line which once separated crimes into 'masculine' and 'feminine' categories."

At first glance, the increases in arrest rates of women for vehicle theft, arson, robbery and aggravated assault confirm the conclusions of the first generation of female

The reasons can be argued, but not the numbers: More women than ever are going to prison.

criminologists. Just as surely as women were capable of running corporate boardrooms, they said, women who commit crimes would branch out from "traditional" offenses like prostitution and shoplifting.

If examples of this growing "diversity" are isolated, they are also chilling. Last September, a 20-year-old professional thief named Patsy Jones stung the Miami tourist industry after she was accused of fatally shooting a German tourist along the Dolphin Expressway with a sawed-off hunting rifle.

In Brooklyn recently, a teen-ager shot and killed a livery cab driver in broad daylight after he resisted her and two girlfriends during a botched robbery attempt.

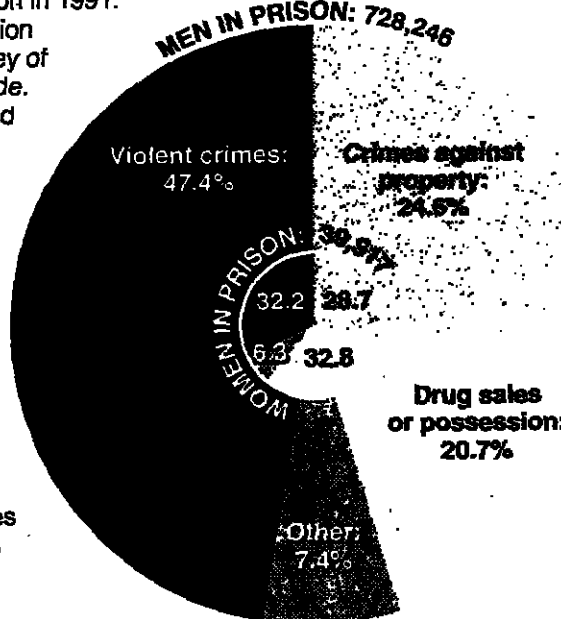
But the link between changing gender models and the number of women in prison

Why They Are Behind Bars

Total state prison population in 1991.

The reasons for incarceration are based on a 1991 survey of 13,986 prisoners nationwide. Responses were compared with prison records.

The most common reason for women being in state prisons were drug convictions (about one-third of the female convicts as compared to one-fifth of the males). The survey also found that women were more likely to be under the influence of drugs when they committed their crimes (36.3 percent against 30.6 percent for men).



Source: Justice Department

The New York Times

remains dubious. Female criminologists increasingly reject predictions that a female crime wave is imminent. They note that female participation in the ultimate violent crime — murder — remains extremely low.

The New York City police report that while women were accused of committing a third more felonies in 1993 than in 1975, 59 women were arrested for murder last year in the city compared with 120 women in 1975.

And while the growing number of women who work helps to explain why they are

committing more forgery and embezzlement, the great majority of women in prison are poor and unemployed and not models of newly empowered, liberated women. "It's really difficult to discern whether women who commit crimes are any more liberated or have different gender-role attitudes than women who don't commit crimes," said Candace Kruttschnitt, a professor of sociology at the University of Minnesota.

"This is a murky area," she added.

Competing Health Care Plans

Fire When Ready, Senators

Continued from page 1

saving money by stimulating competition in the health care industry, with encouragement to health maintenance organizations and other cost-conscious styles of practice. But he and three Congressional committees relied on insurance premium limits as a backup. A bipartisan group that calls itself the "mainstream coalition" (Mr. Dole calls it "the midstream group") took over the Finance Committee with its commitment to competition; but it relied on taxing insurance policies and semi-automatic subsidy reductions, not premium limits, for cost control.

While finding a workable system that can attract votes and reach both goals may be daunting, Mr. Mitchell said Friday that was the task he has set himself, beginning this week when he takes both

the Finance Committee's bill and the more Clintonesque product of Senator Edward M. Kennedy's Labor and Human Resources Committee home with him to Maine. He said in an interview: "I believe that the two goals are not only essential independently. But they are interrelated. You can't get effective cost control until you get everyone covered, and you can't get everyone covered unless you control costs in the process."

Everyone will be insisting that party politics has nothing to do with this, though few will do it with the cheek of the Republican National Committee, whose television advertisement on health care purports to be "a bipartisan message." But Mr. Gephardt is not counting on a single Republican vote, and Mr. Mitchell is not much more optimistic. Party strategists see the issue as critical: Democrats think they need a

health care law to stave off serious election losses while Republicans feel that they can cripple President Clinton if they can beat him on the issue.

The added cast of characters may not only have new Congressmen and Senators in starring and supporting roles. Supporters of national health insurance are counting on thousands of extras. For months they have been talking about bringing the force of ordinary people, who heavily support both universal health insurance and making employers provide it, into the debate. But except for some lame efforts by the Democratic National Committee, they have done nothing to make it happen.

'Heart and Soul'

Last week Mr. Kennedy, who worked with grassroots efforts for civil rights legislation and organized such an effort against the Supreme Court nomination of Robert Bork, met every morning with organizations that can put the heat on their lawmakers. They talked of bus caravans to Washington, a unified message in black churches on July 31, organized telephone campaigns. The Massachusetts Democrat ran Friday's session like a revival meeting. To rhythmic cheers, he told the crowd, "If we have a battle for our nation's heart and soul, it is now, this is the time."

If Mr. Kennedy, who first introduced national health insurance legislation in 1970, has outside voices to cheer on this effort, Mr. Dole has the ultimate Senate weapon — talk. He has almost enough supporters for his bill to maintain a filibuster, and could get the rest if somehow Mr. Mitchell manages to sidetrack the centrist "mainstream" group.

But on an issue as important as this, the filibuster is a weapon that could be self-destructive. Republicans fear the label of obstructionist; Democrats love to pin it on them. Purist conservatives try to dismiss those fears. One Republican strategist, Bill Kristol, argued last week: "We should make clear now that there will be no deal. 'Obstructionism,' when it comes to protecting our health



Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan before a hearing last week.

care system, is no vice."

That allusion to Barry Goldwater's "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice" may warm conservative hearts, but Mr. Goldwater suffered a crushing defeat. Mr. Dole has suffered three humiliating defeats as a national candidate, and it hardly helps to win the nomination in a way that makes the general election hopeless. Ask George McGovern. Or George Bush. So on the issue of filibuster, and more than that, of compromise, the other Dole could still enter in the final act.

A New Lineup, But What Game?

MAYBE it wasn't as exciting as the World Cup, but if you were watching the White House last week you still needed a scorecard, and even then it was hard to make out just what game was being played.

Before the maneuvering, Thomas F. McLarty 3d was listed in the lineup as chief of staff, Leon E. Panetta as budget director and David R. Gergen as counselor.

Here is how the lineup change was announced: Mack McLarty moves to counselor; the old counselor (Gergen) becomes dual-hatted adviser; the budget boss (Panetta) climbs to chief above all. Each player patted the others on the back, and the owner hailed the reshuffling as good for the team.

But if McLarty was out and Panetta was in, just what were they doing smilingly side-by-side in that visit with Larry King? Was Gergen up or out in his new spot, the designated foreign-policy hitler? If Panetta was chief, why was he scolded for saying unenthusiastic things about a teammate, Dee Dee Myers, the White House press secretary?

Then there was the matter of turf. McLarty's hot-corner office would go to Panetta, but then where would there be room for the old chief? Gergen's spot would be open, down there in the basement, but McLarty wanted to be closer to the action, and was said to be eyeing the spot of a senior adviser, George Stephanopoulos, who may be in a bit of a slump. Over at State, Gergen would climb to the seventh floor. And don't forget Alice M. Rivlin, formerly No. 2 in the budget office, who replaced her former boss.

Remember the old days, when the chiefs were men like John H. Sununu and James A. Baker 3d and Sherman Adams, players whose place in the order was never in doubt? Everyone knew who was in charge, and when the star lost his touch, the way it happened to Donald T. Regan, he knew enough to abandon the game. There was no question then about which was better, a chief or a counselor, or whether playing at both the White House and State was better or worse than belonging just to the President's team.

But this is a new age, the White House says, with no need to play by old rules. The latest alignment includes two player-managers — the First Lady and the Vice President — and the trio of Stephanopoulos, McLarty and Bruce Lindsey. None of the latter trio of team players is likely to report — except formally — to the new chief, notwithstanding his claim of "full authority." The danger may be that the players will remain confused. They're playing in a tough league.

DOUGLAS JEHL

Filibusters: A Changing Breed

THE Senate filibuster has two classic images. One is from history, of Southerners fighting against civil rights legislation or pacifists forestalling war, talking all day and night. The other is from the movie "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," when Jimmy Stewart as Jefferson Smith held the floor trying nobly to expose corruption.

Neither example bears much relation to the current use of the filibuster. Refusing to agree to set a time for a vote has become a routine Republican tactic designed to defeat or dilute all kinds of bills of less than epoch-making importance, like the Family and Medical Leave Act or the National and Community Service Act. If the 44 Republican Senators are united, they can prevent the Democrats from assembling the 60 votes the rules now require to force a vote. Sometimes they even refuse to agree to a vote on a motion to start debating a bill. Using one parliamentary device or another, it is possible to filibuster one measure at least four times.

Nor is there much theater to the filibuster any more. Round-the-clock sessions to tire out the angry minority and expose them to ridicule were a manageable tactic when a filibuster came only once every year or two. But they would exhaust the Senate today when filibusters come almost every week. Since the 1960's the Senate has fought filibusters by just having a series of votes to end debate, and doing other less controversial business in the meantime.

That may change this summer. If Republicans refuse to agree to a vote on health care legislation, as some have threatened to do, round-the-clock sessions are likely. Senator George J. Mitchell of Maine, the majority leader, will probably set up cot in the corridors and do everything he can to enable television to treat the Republicans as obstructionists. With the growing national sense that Congress is a waste of time and money even when it is working hard, that is a label many Republicans fear.

ADAM CLYMER

The Nation

Justices Choose Fewer Battles, Then Fight Fiercely

Continued from page 1

as surety, he will not be in a position to change the direction of the Court even if he were so inclined.

Justice Ginsburg, President Clinton's first Supreme Court nominee, made a vigorous debut that reflected her long experience on a Federal appeals court and her familiarity with many of the issues on the Court's docket. Of the four Justices in her wing of the Court, she was the closest to the Court's center.

In the 35 decisions that found Justice Blackmun and Chief Justice Rehnquist on opposite sides, Justice Ginsburg voted 19 times with Justice Blackmun and 16 times with the Chief Justice.

By contrast, Justice Souter voted 24 times with Justice Blackmun and 11 with the Chief Justice. Justice Stevens voted 30 times with Justice Blackmun and 5 with the Chief Justice.

This is a rough and mechanistic measure of a Justice's views; admittedly, cases are not fungible, and not all votes are equally weighty. But imprecise as they are, such statistics do give at least a snapshot of the Court's polarity at a given moment. In the 35 cases, Justice O'Connor voted 7 times with Justice Blackmun and 27 times with the Chief Justice. Justice Thomas voted 3 times with Justice Blackmun and 32 times with the Chief Justice.

Justice Souter's emergence during his fourth year on the Court as an anchor of the relatively liberal wing was one of the term's notable developments, although it was foreshadowed during the previous two terms.

While Justice Souter is in no way a liberal in the mold of Justice William J. Brennan Jr., whom he succeeded, his brand of moderate pragmatism and his willingness to engage Justice Scalia in direct intellectual combat is probably as responsible as any single factor for the failure of the conservative revolution that finally appeared on the verge of success with Justice Brennan's retirement.

Only one case this year could be counted as a significant victory for the conservative agenda: a 5-to-4 ruling that limited the ability of governments to place conditions on the use of private property.

The term's 84 cases marked a low point after several years of marked decline in the Court's argument docket. More cases than ever are reaching the Court—more than 7,700 new appeals were filed this term, a record—but the Justices are growing increasingly selective about the ones they hear.

In the early to mid-1980's, the Court commonly issued more than 140 decisions each term. The number this year was the fewest since the 82 decisions of the 1955-56 term. The Court actually heard 90 arguments this year, but six cases were dismissed after argument or decided without full opinions.

Following are summaries of the major rulings of the term.

Abortion

A Buffer Zone To Protect Clinics Is Upheld, 6-3



Illustrations by Jody Emery

Rehnquist's majority opinion, *Madsen v. Women's Health Center*, No. 93-880, found the injunction consistent with the First Amendment; Justices Scalia, Thomas and Kennedy dissented.

In a second-clinic protest case, the Court was unanimous in ruling that abortion clinics can invoke the Federal racketeering law to sue violent anti-abortion protesters for damages. In an opinion by Chief Justice Rehnquist, the Court rejected a lower court's conclusion that the Racketeer-Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) applies only to activity motivated by a desire for economic gain. (*National Organization for Women v. Scheidler*, No. 92-780.)

Criminal Law

Tough Tactics To Fight Drugs Are Viewed Skeptically

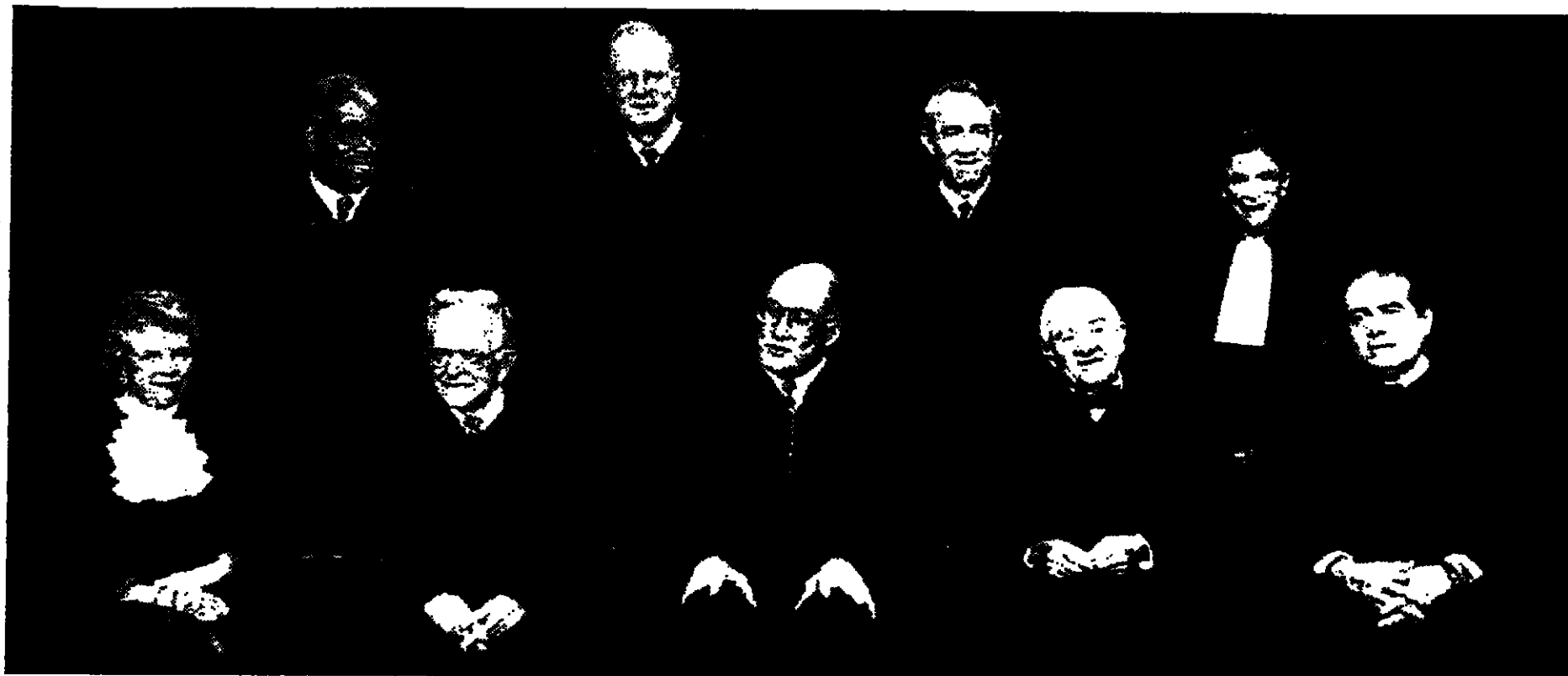


In a term that was generally conservative on issues of criminal law, the Court nonetheless displayed some skepticism toward the aggressive tactics of state and Federal governments in combatting drugs.

The Court ruled, 5 to 4, that the Government may not seize a house or other real estate that it suspects of having been used in a drug transaction without giving the owner notice and a chance to contest the seizure at a hearing. This case, *U.S. v. Good*, No. 92-1180, involved a Federal forfeiture law; many states have similar laws. Justice Kennedy's majority opinion, based on the constitutional guarantee of due process of law, was joined by Justices Blackmun, Stevens, Souter and Ginsburg.

In a second 5-to-4 decision, with the same lineup of Justices, the Court ruled that states may not follow up a narcotics conviction by imposing a special tax on the illegal drugs. The majority opinion by Justice Stevens held that Montana's "dangerous drug tax," similar to laws in about half the states, violated the constitutional prohibition against double jeopardy when applied to drugs that had already formed the basis of a criminal prosecution. (*Montana v. Kurth Ranch*, No. 93-144.)

In a death penalty case, the Court ruled that if the state seeks the death penalty on the ground that the defendant will be dangerous in the future, jurors must be told if the alternative to a death sentence is life without parole, meaning that the defendant would never in fact be released. The 7-to-2 decision, with a plurality opinion by Justice Blackmun, overturned a South Carolina law that forbids death sentence reached under a state law that forbids informing the jury that a life sentence means life without parole. Justice Scalia and Thomas dissented in *Simmons v. S.C.*, No. 92-9059. By an 8-to-1 vote, with Justice Blackmun dissenting, the Court turned back a constitu-



From the left, seated, are Supreme Court Justices O'Connor and Blackmun, Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justices Stevens and Scalia. Standing, from the left, are Justices Thomas, Kennedy, Souter and Ginsburg. Justice Blackmun is retiring after 24 years on the High Court.

tional challenge to California's death penalty law. (*Tuila v. Calif.*, No. 93-5131.)

The Court ruled, 9 to 0, that prison officials can be found liable for failing to protect an inmate from violence at the hands of fellow prisoners if the officials knew or but ignored a "substantial risk of serious harm." The case, *Farmer v. Brennan*, No. 92-7242, involved the rape of a transsexual prisoner whom officials had placed in the general population at a Federal penitentiary. Justice Souter wrote the opinion for the Court. Justice Thomas concurred separately while reiterating his view that the Eighth Amendment's prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment has no application to prison conditions.

Ruling, 5 to 4, the Court held that the police are not obliged to stop questioning a suspect who makes an ambiguous request to have a lawyer present. Justice O'Connor wrote the majority opinion. *Davis v. U.S.*, No. 92-1948. The dissenters, Justices Souter, Blackmun, Stevens and Ginsburg, said the police had to stop long enough to clarify the suspect's wishes.

By a 5-to-4 vote, the Court ruled that Federal judges may grant a stay of execution to permit a state death row inmate to find lawyer to prepare a Federal court petition for a writ of habeas corpus. Justice Blackmun's opinion, *McFarland v. Scott*, No. 93-6497, was joined by Justices Stevens, Souter, Ginsburg and Kennedy.

Religion

Hasidic District Is at the Center Of Church-State Case



Chief Justice Rehnquist, dissented. (*Board of Education of Kiryas Joel v. Grumet*, No. 93-517.)

In the term's only church-state case, the Court declared by a vote of 6 to 3 that a public school district created by New York State for the benefit of a village of Satmar Hasidim amounted to favoritism on behalf of religion and violated the neutrality required by the First Amendment's establishment clause. Justice Souter wrote for the Court; Justice Scalia, joined by Justice Thomas and Chief Justice Rehnquist, dissented. (*Board of Education of Kiryas Joel v. Grumet*, No. 93-517.)

Individual Rights

Less Proof Is Required To Show Sexual Harassment In the Workplace



The Court was unanimous in announcing a wide definition of sexual harassment in the workplace, rejecting the standard set by several lower courts that required plaintiffs to show that harassment had caused them "severe psychological injury."

Writing for the Court, Justice O'Connor said "no single factor is required" to prove to win a sexual harassment case under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the law at issue. Invoking what she called the "broad rule of workplace equality," Justice O'Connor said the law was violated when the work environment "would reasonably be perceived, and is perceived, as hostile or abusive." The case was *Harris v. Forklift Systems*, No. 92-1189.

The Court completed a revolution in jury selection by ruling that the Constitution's guarantee of equal protection bars the exclusion of potential jurors on the basis of their sex. In a 6-to-3 decision by Justice Blackmun, the Court extended to gender the analysis it had previously applied to prohibit the use of peremptory challenges to weed out jurors on the basis of race. The Chief Justice and Justices Scalia and Thomas dissented. The case was *J.E.B. v. T.B.*, No. 92-1239. The Justices later declined to hear a case from Minnesota that posed the question of whether the same principle should also be extended to religion.

The Court ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1991, in which Congress restored and expanded remedies for job discrimination in response to a series of restrictive Supreme Court rulings two years earlier, did not apply retroactively to the thousands of cases that were pending when the law was passed. The Court addressed different aspects of the law in a pair of 8-to-1 decisions, with Justice Stevens writing the majority opinions and Justice Blackmun dissenting. The cases were *Landgraf v. USI*

Film Products, No. 92-757, and *Rivers v. Roadway Express*, No. 92-938.

In an important voting-rights case from Florida, the Court ruled that the Federal Voting Rights Act does not necessarily require creating the maximum number of legislative districts in which minority-group voters make up a majority. Justice Souter wrote an opinion for seven Justices while the other two, Justices Thomas and Scalia, said the Voting Rights Act does not apply to challenges to district lines. (*Johnson v. DeGrandy*, No. 92-519.)

By a 5-to-4 vote in a Georgia case, the Court ruled that the Voting Rights Act could not be used to challenge the size of a governmental body, in that case a single-member commission that runs rural Bleckley County. There was no majority rationale; separate opinions by Justice Kennedy, joined by the Chief Justice; Justice O'Connor; and Justice Thomas joined by Justice Scalia made up the majority. (*Holder v. Hall*, No. 91-2012.)

Government Authority

Developers Get A Break on The Environment



Government building.

In an important property-rights case, the Court set new limits on the ability of governments to require developers to set aside part of their land for environmental or other public uses. Under Chief Justice Rehnquist's 5-to-4 majority opinion, the Government has the burden of showing a "rough proportionality" between the required set-aside and the harm, such as flooding or increased traffic, to be caused by the new development.

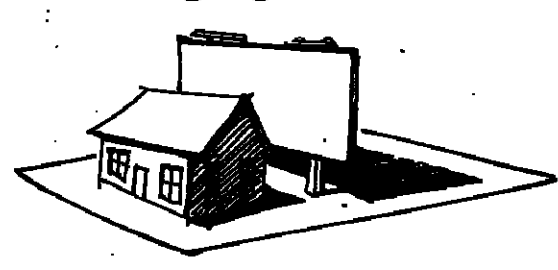
The decision, *Dolan v. City of Tigard*, No. 93-518, was based on the Fifth Amendment's prohibition against a governmental "taking" of private property without compensation; Chief Justice Rehnquist said the takings clause should no longer be "relegated to the status of a poor relation" within the Bill of Rights. The dissenters were Justices Stevens, Blackmun, Ginsburg and Souter.

The Court ruled unanimously that the Government's choice of which military bases to close is not subject to challenge in Federal court. Elected officials from Pennsylvania and New Jersey had gone to court to try to stop the scheduled closing of the Philadelphia Naval Shipyard. Chief Justice Rehnquist wrote for the Court in *Dalton v. Specter*, No. 93-289.

By a vote of 9 to 0, the Court overturned a \$52 million civil contempt fine a Virginia state court had issued against the mine workers' union in connection with a violent strike, ruling that such a fine could not be imposed without giving the union the procedural protections of a criminal trial. Justice Blackmun wrote the opinion, *Mine Workers v. Bagwell*, No. 92-1625.

Speech

Home Is Castle When It Comes To Posting Signs



The Court ruled unanimously that cities may not bar residents from posting signs on their own property. The decision, *City of Ladue v. Gilleo*, No. 92-1856, struck down an ordinance that banned all but "for sale" and "sold" signs from the homes and lawns of a wealthy St. Louis suburb. Justice Stevens wrote for the Court.

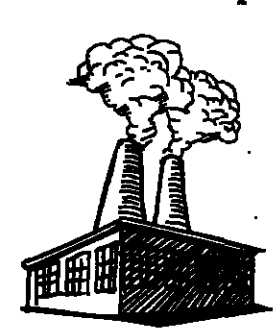
In an important cable television case, a 5-to-4 majority endorsed a broad constitutional framework for Federal regulation of cable television while, at the same time, telling a lower court to reconsider its ruling that upheld a Federal law that requires cable systems to retransmit local broadcast signals. The Court will inevitably revisit the issue when the case, *Turner v. Federal Communications Commission*, No. 93-44, comes back after further proceedings. Justice Kennedy wrote for the Court while the dissenters — Justices O'Connor, Scalia, Thomas and Ginsburg — said the "must carry" law violates the cable operators' editorial freedom under the First Amendment.

In a high-profile copyright case, the Court ruled unanimously that parody — in this case, the rap group 2 Live Crew's raunchy version of the rock classic "Oh Pretty Woman" — is not necessarily copyright infringement but may be protected under the Federal copyright law as "fair use." Justice Souter wrote the opinion,

Campbell v. Acuff-Rose, No. 92-1292.

The Environment

Steering the Flow Of Garbage Grows Complicated



Factory with smokestacks.

The Court decided an unusual number and variety of controversies over waste disposal and regulation. The most important ruling threatened an increasingly popular approach to waste disposal known as flow control, in which local governments try to make expensive recycling or incineration plants economical by insisting that all trash generated within their borders be sent to the designated facility.

The Constitution's protection against state interference with interstate commerce does not permit local governments to "hoard a local resource," the Court ruled in a 6-to-3 decision by Justice Kennedy. The Chief Justice and Justices Souter and Blackmun dissented in *C. & A. Carbone v. Clarkstown*, No. 92-1402.

The Court also rejected, as another protectionist offense against interstate commerce, Oregon's imposition of an extra dumping fee for solid waste brought in from another state. Justice Thomas wrote the 7-to-2 decision, *Ore. Waste Systems v. Dept. of Environmental Quality*, No. 93-70. The Chief Justice and Justice Blackmun dissented.

Upholding state authority in an environmental case, the Court ruled, 7 to 2, that states have broad authority under the Federal Clean Water Act to protect not only the quality of their water but also the quantity that flows through hydroelectric projects. Water must flow at certain levels to make it possible for salmon, trout and other fish to survive. Justice O'Connor wrote for the Court in *Jefferson County v. Washington*, No. 92-1911. Justices Thomas and Scalia dissented.

Business, Taxes

Juries That Grant Huge Damages Can Be Reined In



Scales of justice.

In one of its clearest rulings on the contentious subject of punitive damages, the Court held that as a matter of constitutional due process, states must make some form of judicial review available as a check on the amount of punitive damages awarded by a jury. While only Oregon

now fails to provide such review, the broad tone of the decision, *Honda Motor Co. v. Oertel*, No. 93-644, is likely to invite more challenges to punitive damages. Justice Stevens wrote the majority opinion and Justice Ginsburg and Chief Justice Rehnquist dissented.

Sweeping aside years of lower court precedents, as well as Securities and Exchange Commission policy, the Court barred a common type of securities-fraud action under which accountants and other outside professionals could be sued for "aiding and abetting" a securities fraud. The 5-to-4 opinion, *Central Bank v. First Interstate Bank*, No. 92-854, was by Justice Kennedy.

The Court ruled, 9 to 0, that Congress did not violate the constitutional guarantee of due process when it amended a 1986 tax law retroactively to close an unintended loophole. Justice Blackmun wrote for the Court in *U.S. v. Carlton*, No. 92-1941.

The Court unanimously validated New York State's effort to curb tax evasion in the sale of cigarettes at stores located on Indian reservations, ruling that the coupon system New York plans to use to limit the availability of cigarettes to non-Indians does not conflict with Federal law. Justice Stevens wrote for the Court in *New York v. Milhelm Attea*, No. 93-377.

The Court upheld California's former approach to taxing the income of foreign-based multinational corporations. California has changed its law to conform to the rest of the country, but had the 7-to-2 decision in *Barclays Bank v. Franchise Tax Board*, No. 92-1384, gone the other way, California might have faced a \$4 billion retroactive liability for refunds. Justice Ginsburg wrote for the Court and Justices O'Connor and Thomas dissented.

The World

Never Mind Yen. Greenbacks Are the New Gold Standard.

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

YOU want to know the oddest thing about the dollar story? Right at this moment when all the headlines are about the dollar crumbling against the yen, when traders in Tokyo are supposedly dumping American currency by the wheelbarrow, the dollar has never been more popular around the globe.

Always remember, the dollar is two things: It is a financial asset, the value of which floats against the currencies of other countries, going up or down at any given time. But the dollar has an additional life overseas. There, the greenback, that piece of crisp, folding paper with the picture of dead Presidents, is in demand not only as a financial asset for transactions, but also as a store of value — like gold — and as a trusty standard against which many developing nations are now pegging their own pesos, dinars or cruzeiros.

Yes, the dollar has been declining in value a little against the Japanese yen. For Americans who wanted to hail a cab in Tokyo or buy a Honda last week, that is bad news. But the dollar is actually holding steady or rising in value against most other currencies. That is why in the former Communist world and other developing countries, the dollar is viewed today as more solid than ever. Not only are more and more countries tying their currencies to the dollar, but in some of them the greenback is also becoming the day-to-day medium of exchange.

This phenomenon is now so widespread the Federal Reserve estimates that 60 percent of all of the dollar bills printed this year, compared with about 40 percent 20 years ago, will end up going overseas via American banks — for use in Russia, Romania, Tajikistan, China, Vietnam and other countries where the dollar has become the official unofficial tender.

Whether these foreigners are stashing \$100 bills in their mattresses to keep them for a rainy day, hiding twenties under their floorboards for insurance against

local hyperinflation or swapping briefcases with stacks of fives for illegal drug deals, most of the world can't get enough dollar bills these days. The Federal Reserve estimates that about \$190 billion in American bills are now circulating overseas, and that pile is rising at a rate of about \$15 billion to \$20 billion a year — not counting counterfeit notes.

Behind this phenomenon are two economic trends that coincided in the last decade: global inflation and American disinflation. Since the mid-1980's inflation in this country has been under tight control; the dollar as a store of value against a basket of other major world currencies has been quite stable. At the same time, since the late 1980's, much of the former Communist world has disintegrated, and the developing world has increasingly opted for capitalism.

A Symbol of Stability

But many of these economies, particularly in Eastern Europe, Latin America and the former Soviet Union, do not have their monetary affairs under control and have suffered hyperinflation as their governments have printed money to solve every problem. It's likely more countries have been gripped by hyperinflation in the last decade than during the rest of the century. This is one of the unexpected diseases of the new world order and explains why so many people prefer to store their wealth, or peg their exchange rates, in dollars or in a few other "hard" currencies instead of their local paper money.

Lithuania, like Argentina and Brazil, has formally pegged its currency to the dollar. Many others have done so informally. Estonia has fixed its currency to the German mark. It is not hard to understand why. In 1990 Argentina suffered from currency inflation of 2,300 percent a year. Its money supply was out of control. Three years ago, the government of President Carlos Menem decided to fix the Argentine peso, by law, at parity with the dollar. That forced the Argentine central bank to control its money supply to maintain that parity. The move brought inflation down to 3.4 percent in May, the



Reaction at the Sydney Futures Exchange as the Australian dollar declined along with its American cousin.

lowest level in 41 years. For the first time in a generation Argentina has seen a return of coin-vending machines, because coins now hold the same value for more than a few weeks.

Brazil's inflation-weary population has long been paying cab fares with checks. They've tried six different currencies in the past decade. Last week, they began issuing yet another new currency, the real, but this time pegging it to the dollar on a one-to-one basis.

"This would not have happened in 1978-79, when we had high inflation at a rapid deterioration in the dollar," said William Poole, a professor of economics at Brown University. "But over the last decade, with inflation under control, people have become increasingly confident about using and holding dollars. It is still the only currency in the world that is acceptable everywhere."

Today so many foreign countries, Mr. Poole said, "have a tremendous need for a stable currency, and we are providing them with a benefit that they cannot get any other way."

Indeed there is no gold standard anymore — that officially went out the window in 1971 — but there is a dollar standard. And if some countries are pegging their currencies to the dollar, then what is the dollar pegged to? Answer: Alan Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. America, and the world, are now on

the Greenspan standard.

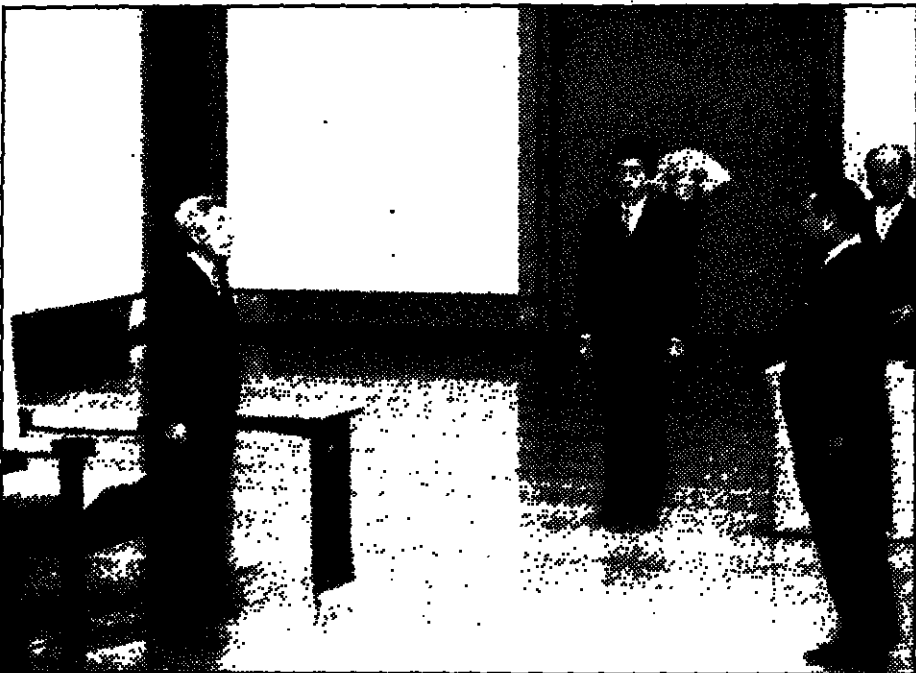
"The dollar is pegged to the political consensus of the American electorate," said H. Erich Heinemann, chief economist at Ladenburg, Thalmann & Company investment bank in New York City. "Basically, the Administration and Congress together define the national consensus on economic strategy, and the Federal Reserve chairman, even though he is independent, operates within that consensus. That consensus has been, and hopefully will be, for low inflation."

While this has costs for the United States, in the area of job growth and interest rates, it also has benefits. The United States has an advantage few other countries enjoy: It prints green paper with George Washington's and Ben Franklin's and Thomas Jefferson's pictures on it. These pieces of green paper are called "dollars." Americans give this green paper to people around the world, and they give Americans in return automobiles, pasta, stereos, taxi rides, hotel rooms and all sorts of other goods and services. As long as these foreigners can be induced to hold those dollars, either in their mattresses, their banks or in their own circulation, Americans have exchanged green paper for hard goods.

"As long as we maintain low inflation and currency stability, those dollars will circulate abroad forever," said Mr. Poole. "It's a very good deal."

Profiles in Bombast

A Japanese Machiavelli Creates A Boom in Political Prescriptions



In a time of upheaval, Japanese politicians may ignore ideological purity, but not the comfort of ritual. Installation ceremonies before Emperor Akihito for Tsutomu Hata, left, in April, and for the new Prime Minister, Toru Murayama, right, Thursday, seemed interchangeable.

By DAVID E. SANGER

IDEOLOGY has never meant all that much in Japanese politics. From feudal days, power alliances meant far more than ideas. Under the 38-year rule of the Liberal Democrats, which ended with a scandal-plagued bang last summer and resurfaced with a cynical power grab last week, there was rarely serious, sustained debate about Japan's future direction. The vision thing was the bureaucracy's thing. For everyone else in positions of power, there was too much money to be made to engage in such nonsense.

So the most remarkable aspect of the chaos here for the past year — four prime ministers in 11 months — is the hint of an intellectual awakening in political circles.

It is easy to miss: Last week, you would have had to turn your attention away from the spectacle of Japan's first Socialist prime minister in half a century, Toru Murayama, coming to power by abandoning every idea the Socialist Party here ever stood for in order to achieve an alliance with the enemy Liberal Democrats.

To catch the real action, you would have had to step into a bookstore.

Suddenly, every major politician in the country feels compelled to describe his political ideology — even if he doesn't have one. Hardly a week goes by without the appearance of another book with a title like "Vision of Japan" or "The New Conservative Revolution." Everyone, of course, is a reformer, but "Profiles in Courage" these are not. Publishers are so enthralled with the whole idea that, in one recent case, they rushed a volume out so quickly that its author, a distant candidate for prime minister, didn't have a chance to read it all. No problem — his tax policy simply changed for the second printing.

The man who touched off this scramble for Big Thoughts is the same one who was once better known for his abilities to squeeze Big Money out of Japanese corporations: Ichiro Ozawa, the former Liberal Democrat who led the revolt against the party a year ago. Millions of Japanese make no secret of their intense dislike for him. The Socialists, who last year joined Mr. Ozawa to slay the Establishment, broke with him when they realized he would destroy them once he no longer

needed their votes. In fact, what cemented the bond last week between the Socialists and the Liberal Democrats, two parties that previously couldn't agree on whether to serve sushi or tempura in the Parliament's cafeteria, was their mutual hatred for Mr. Ozawa.

Nonetheless, in the last year Mr. Ozawa has defined the debate over Japan's future and forced the country's leadership to choose sides. His acerbic book about what ails Japan and how to fix it, "Blueprint for Building a New Japan," has sold 700,000 copies.

The problem with Japanese politics, Mr. Ozawa argues, is that they are too Japanese: Consensus replaces debate, politicians hide behind bureaucrats, "local governments rely on the national government and no one in the national government takes responsibility for political leadership." Meetings of the Cabinet plumb new depths of brain death: "Final decisions are made in advance."

An Odd Echo

Americans and Europeans have made similar arguments for years, but there is something eerie about hearing it from the inside. Indeed, parts of the book read like they were written in the White House. Japan's Government, Mr. Ozawa argues, is like a naval fleet designed to protect national industry from real competition. The country sidestepped its responsibilities in the Gulf war. The core of the Ozawa prescription for change is his argument that the time is long overdue for Japan to become a "normal nation," with a respectable mili-

tary, a foreign policy not imported from Washington, and a full role in the United Nations, including in peacekeeping. Otherwise Japan risks becoming a modern Carthage, deceiving itself that "wealth alone can sustain a nation."

The rap on Mr. Ozawa is that he is far too confrontational, too ideological, too — well, American. But no one wants to seem anti-reform. So the raft of Ozawa knock-offs — all anti-Ozawa books — include paeans to the old Japanese virtues of compromise, pragmatism and alliance. Not surprisingly, the authors include conservatives who did not blink last week at backing a Socialist for prime minister if it meant they could regain power.

Among them is Masayoshi Takemura, who led a group of rebels out of the Liberal Democratic Party last year, but quickly came to despise Mr. Ozawa and joined the odd ruling alliance last week. (He was rewarded with the post of Finance Minister.) Mr. Takemura's "A Small but Brightly Shining Country" envisions Japan as a sort of Switzerland in Asia, planting trees abroad instead of dispatching peacekeepers. As one Japanese diplomat put it, "this sounds like mush in English, but in Japanese it has a nice, warm feel to it."

The new Minister of International Trade and Industry, Ryutaro Hashimoto, rushed out with his own explanation of Japan's new world role, which he admits in the introduction was "pieced together from a wide range of my past and present views." It includes such daring stands as his declaration that he will make up his mind about Japan's role as a peacekeeper after "listening closely to reports" from the Japanese who returned from helping out with elections in Cambodia, more than a year ago. There are also Mr. Hashimoto's views on debt forgiveness and the abnormal fluctuations of the yen — and nice pictures of him hiking with his father.

So far this is a lopsided debate: Mr. Ozawa's vision, good or bad, has yet to be fully engaged. His opponents have let him define the debate, and they are left defending the status quo. But he has turned out to be a better author than sword-fighter. Unwilling to bend on his vision, determined to destroy his enemies, he drove the Socialists out of the reformist camp and into the bed of the bankrupt Liberal Democrats. Whether his ideas can dig him out of that hole may determine whether Japan moves beyond its policy paralysis and decides that being an economic superpower is not quite enough.

Haiti Pines for Help From Land It Fears

Continued from page 1

recently called the Haitian leader's zigzags silly. "Either one opposes intervention on principle or you go along with it," Mr. Malval said.

If Father Aristide can seem conflicted toward the United States, other Haitians are often, if anything, even more equivocal — as Mr. Malval discovered last year. As Washington groped for a solution to Haiti's troubles, Mr. Malval's cool logic and seeming lack of animus toward the United States turned out to be liabilities at home. Haitians, he found out, deeply distrust anyone who seems in Washington's confidence. By December, his position was untenable and he had to resign.

Now, after months of criticism that the United States had not done enough about Haiti's crisis (and even as thousands of refugees set to sea believing they have a better chance of obtaining entry), President Clinton's mention in April of the possibility of using force has loosed a flood of tirades about Washington's motives.

A recent column in Haiti-en-Marche, an exile weekly identified with Father Aristide's cause, denounced the Haitian leader as naïve for playing along with an interventionist American agenda. "Rallying to the enemy to contain the damage when you are the weaker party: such was the thinking of Marshal Pétain of France defeated by the Nazis," the article said. An American

To hear Aristide is to hear both sides of the debate on whether to seek an invasion.

intervention would serve only the United States' allies in Haiti, the author wrote. "that is to say the Army and bourgeoisie."

Such views are by no means the monopoly of intellectuals. Last month, Mr. Pettigrew was only one of the impoverished Haitians in Montrovis, making their way to the island of La Gonave in preparation for the treacherous voyage toward Florida, who believed the United States was, in a nefarious way, responsible for Haiti's devastation. The tale he told has become something akin to a powerful national myth — that a predatory United States is fixated on Haiti for its secret strategic or mineral riches and brutally indifferent to the fortunes of its people.

Impressions like these (and similarly xenophobic ones among rightists) are a legacy of Haiti's unique history: It was the site of the only major slave revolt to succeed, producing the world's first black republic in 1804; it also endured American tutelage during a 19-year occupation that ended in 1934.

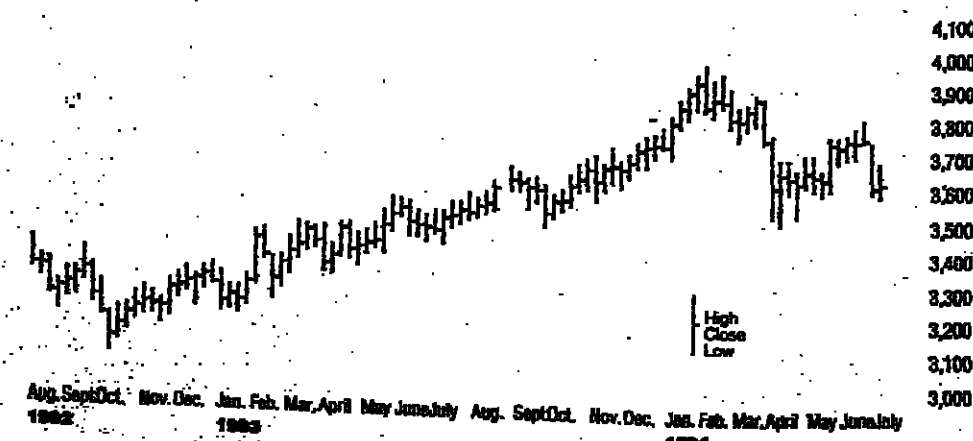
Just as crucial are the murky recent years of history: American support for Jean-Claude Duvalier's dictatorship; the blame the United States seemed briefly to thrust upon Haiti for the spread of AIDS; years of training and secret assistance for the repressive armed forces, and now, nearly three years of deeply resented repatriations of Haitians fleeing their land.

With bitterness like this filling the air, many policy makers in Washington are already quietly asking themselves what unpleasant surprises might be in store for any American invasion force: whether, in particular, it might not very quickly become a convenient focal point of bad feelings on the part of an entire failed nation, from Father Aristide down.

"If the Americans come to remove the army and go on their way immediately, we will applaud them," said one middle-class woman here who supports Father Aristide. "If they stay any longer though, they are in trouble. Haitians won't even accept a foreigner directing traffic in their country."

The Stock Markets Last Week

DOW JONES INDUSTRIAL AVERAGE



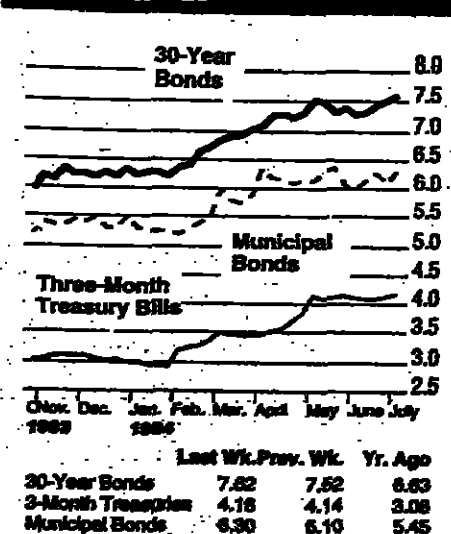
MARKET DIARY

	NYSE	NASDAQ	AMEX
Advanced	1,268	2,331	385
Declined	1,327	1,992	457
Unchanged	379	918	168
Issues Traded	2,974	5,241	1,010
New Highs	37	113	22
New Lows	349	361	115

MARKET INDEXES

	Close	Chg	%Chg	YTD %
D. J. Indust.	3,446.65	+ 9.71	+ 0.27	- 2.86
D. J. Transp.	1,610.47	+ 20.53	+ 1.29	- 8.62
D. J. Util.	178.16	+ 1.45	+ 0.82	- 22.30
S&P 500	446.20	+ 3.40	+ 0.77	- 4.34
S&P Indust.	518.64	+ 3.28	+ 0.64	- 3.99
NASDAQ Comp	2,463.34	+ 1.79	+ 0.73	- 4.92
NASDAQ	2,463.34	+ 1.79	+ 0.73	- 4.92
AMEX	385.00	+ 1.88	+ 0.49	- 9.00
Russell 2000	241.12	+ 1.73	+ 0.72	- 6.76
Wilshire 5000	4,413.59	+ 39.81	+ 0.91	- 5.25
Value Line	276.01	+ 2.28	+ 0.83	- 6.53

INTEREST RATES



New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE				PERCENTAGE GAINERS				PERCENTAGE LOSERS			
Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.		Last	Chg.	Pct.		Last	Chg.	Pct.	
Vodafone	219633	7 1/2	+ 3 1/2	FMRYT	5 1/2	+ 2 1/2	105.0	Avial n	8 1/2	- 5	37.0
IBM	144300	57	- 27 1/2	MetFris	22 1/4	+ 6 1/2	41.3	UNCInc	5 1/2	- 2 1/2	21.3
U-HtCr s	136049	45 1/4	- 1/2	BoydGam n	13 1/2	+ 2 1/2	26.1	FruTri	3 1/2	- 1 1/2	22.5
TeleMex	131595	55 1/2	+ 1 1/2	Circuiss	25 1/4	+ 5 1/2	24.9	NMedia	4 1/2	- 1	18.2
Compq s	123151	32 1/4	+ 1 1/4	Knogo	14 1/4	+ 2 1/2	21.7	Corimon	9 1/2	- 1 1/4	16.3
GenEl s	115635	46 1/2	+ 1 1/2	CBS	307	+ 53	20.9	Blockt	12 1/2	- 2 1/2	14.5
GM	112052	50 1/2	- 1 1/2	DimeNY	10 1/4	+ 1 1/4	19.4	Esco	8 1/2	- 1 1/4	13.3
FordM	89520	59	+ 1 1/4	MACOM	8 1/2	+ 1 1/4	17.0	TCBY	5 1/2	- 3/4	12.2
RJR	89452	6	+ 1/2	GrdCean f	14 1/2	+ 2	16.5	PittsMn n	18 1/4	- 2 1/2	12.1
AmExp x	89056	26	+ 1 1/2	Rhodes n	15 1/2	+ 2	14.7	PlayB n	6 1/2	- 7/8	11.9
WalMart	86826	24 1/2	+ 1 1/2	LevFurn n	11	+ 1 1/2	14.3	Rusht n	16 1/2	- 2 1/2	11.1
Motorola	83196	44 1/2	+ 1 1/2	O Sullind n	12 1/2	+ 1 1/2	13.6	UnitdW s f	28	- 3 1/2	11.3
PepsiC	80068	30 1/2	- 1/4	MISchott n	12 1/2	+ 1 1/2	13.6	TereX	5	- 1/2	11.1
PhilM	79792	51 1/2	+ 7/8	Fidorst	26 1/2	+ 3 1/2	13.5	Intpool	13 1/4	- 1 1/2	10.9
OfcDpt s	78013	20	- 1/2	KLM	28 1/4	+ 3 1/2	13.6	TotlSy	19 1/2	- 2 1/2	10.9

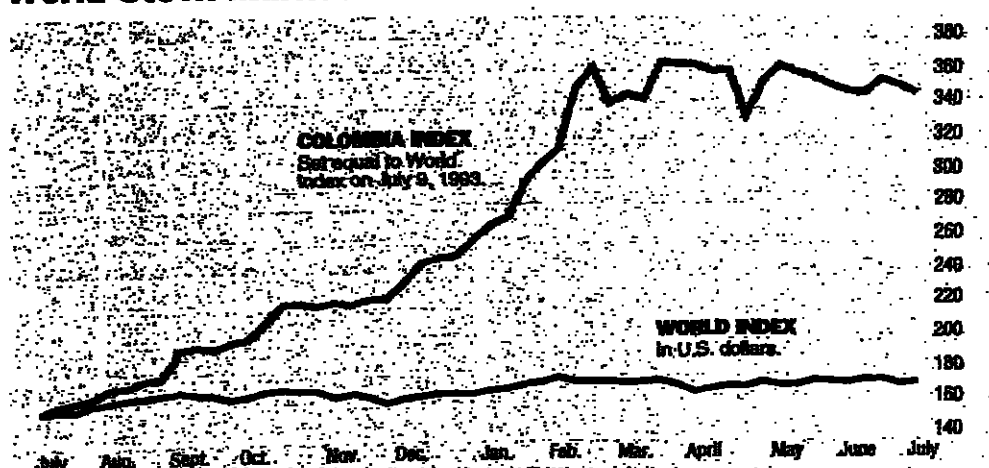
Nasdaq

MOST ACTIVE				PERCENTAGE GAINERS				PERCENTAGE LOSERS			
Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.		Last	Chg.	Pct.		Last	Chg.	Pct.	
Novell	225436	16 1/4	+ 1 1/4	Peerle	9	+ 3	50.0	BrokCS	7 1/4	- 11	58.7
Microsoft	210229	50 1/4	+ 3/4	Kirschn	9 1/4	+ 3 1/4	50.0	BoxEn A	10	- 9 1/4	49.4
Oracle s	159918	38	+ 1 1/2	HoloPak	12	+ 4	50.0	Octus un	3 1/2	- 3	49.0
Intel	152389	59	+ 1 1/2	Advman	6 1/4	+ 2	42.1	Trisys	5 1/2	- 5 1/4	48.3
Cisco s	141048	23 1/2	+ 1 1/2	EB Inc	17	+ 5	41.7	Riblin	4	- 3	42.9
IDB Cm s	114761	9 1/2	+ 1 1/4	ArtRep un	11 1/4	+ 3 1/4	40.6	Intrel s	3 1/2	- 2 1/2	41.7
MCI	111278	22 1/2	+ 1 1/2	CintrRes	8 1/2	+ 2 1/4	38.3	AndrGr	4 1/4	- 2 1/4	42.1
3Com	103834	49 1/2	+ 4 1/4	Arcus	6 1/2	+ 1 1/2	37.5	Ntlins	4 1/4	- 2 1/4	32.1
USFit s	85995	36 1/2	+ 3 1/2	ArakEng	6 1/2	+ 1 1/2	35.1	KnwW	5 1/2	- 2 1/4	30.5
DSC s	84438	19 1/2	+ 1 1/4	AlphaBt	11 1/2	+ 2 1/4	35.1	KTel	4 1/4	- 2	29.6

American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE				PERCENTAGE GAINERS				PERCENTAGE LOSERS			
	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.		Last	Chg.	Pct.		Last	Chg.	Pct.
ExpLA	120,523	1 1/2	-	ShefM d f	7	+ 1 1/2	30.2	HoopH	9 1/2	- 2 1/4	22.5
ChefSft s	91,065	8 1/2	+ 1 1/2	RefacToh	7 1/2	+ 1 1/2	24.5	EnzoBI	7 1/4	- 1 1/4	18.4
SPDR	67,441	44 1/2	+ 1 1/2	Datarm	5 1/2	+ 1	24.2	BetaWi s	4 1/2	- 1	18.2
Atari	23,469	3 1/4	- 1 1/2	CheySft s	8 1/2	+ 1 1/2	20.3	NAmAdvMet	5 1/2	- 1 1/2	18.0
Hsbro	23,465	29 1/2	+ 1 1/4	ChadTher f	8 1/2	+ 1 1/4	17.5	Rartin	10	- 2	16.7

World Stock Markets



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the FT Actuarial World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and NatWest Securities Ltd. in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and the Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE	IN U.S. DOLLARS					IN LOCAL CURRENCY				
	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Dividend Yield	Index	YTD % Chg.	Exchange Rate to \$	YTD % Chg.
Country										
Australia	163.36	-2.7	19	-2.1	13	3.70	149.10	-8.8	1.3723	7.4
Austria	185.75	2.7	1	0.4	8	1.04	154.15	-7.4	11.2385	8.5
Belgium	164.52	-0.8	15	1.2	7	4.15	133.28	-8.1	32.85	10.1
Britain	164.26	1.7	2	-10.1	21	4.24	177.82	-13.6	0.6502	4.0
Canada	122.60	1.7	3	-9.7	19	2.76	122.67	-5.8	1.3817	-4.2
Denmark	259.18	1.0	7	4.8	4	1.34	220.75	-3.4	6.2622	8.5
Finland	141.88	-0.3	13	15.2	3	0.90	158.46	5.8	5.3218	8.8
France	159.79	-1.2	16	-9.2	18	3.28	136.96	-16.0	5.4645	8.1
Germany	138.34	1.3	6	-2.8	15	1.83	113.02	-10.7	1.5946	8.9
Hong Kong	351.17	-3.1	20	-28.2	24	3.40	348.47	-28.2	7.7292	-0.0
Ireland	181.99	-0.6	14	-1.7	12	3.62	168.63	-8.9	0.8576	7.9
Italy	81.40	-3.3	21	18.7	2	1.64	96.39	9.9	1585.55	8.0
Japan	168.04	1.4	5	29.1	1	0.73	104.84	14.2	98.705	13.1
Malaysia	480.65	-3.5	22	-22.1	23	1.77	462.09	-24.7	2.6046	3.4
Mexico	1910.19	-0.9	8	-20.0	22	1.89	708.25	-12.8	3.3925	-8.4
Netherlands	197.02	-0.1	12	-1.0	11	3.53	160.81	-8.9	1.7883	8.8
New Zealand	65.78	-1.4	17	-4.7	5	4.09	58.44	-9.3	1.6731	6.6
Norway	188.00	1.5	4	4.7	5	1.86	177.80	-3.0	6.9678	7.9
Singapore	331.05	-1.8	18	-0.5	9	2.28	282.44	-14.7	1.5236	5.6
South Africa	265.75	-3.7	23	-2.4	14	4.27	135.55	-10.2	131.55	8.6
Spain	136.02	0.4	11	-2.4	6	1.73	230.82	-4.7	7.8239	6.5
Sweden	199.28	-3.9	24	-1.5	6	1.84	131.76	-10.6	1.3375	11.0
Switzerland	158.90	0.4	10	-0.8	10	2.94	182.03	-4.1		
United States	182.03	0.8	9	-4.1	17					

COMPOSITE INDICES

	Index	Week % Chg.	Rank	YTD % Chg.
Europe	161.57	0.4	-4.7	3.17
Europe/Pacific	168.62	0.6	8.7	1.90
World	172.50	0.7	3.2	2.28

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close.
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The Economy



Once They Built a Railroad . . .

News about railroads is somehow comforting amid the talk of vast realignments in television, of phone calls swirling through the air. Railroads are so elemental, rolling bits of history. Since deregulation in 1980, though, they've been combining to cut costs, and last week saw two of the biggest join hands. Burlington Northern and Santa Fe Pacific (owner of the Atchafalaya, Topeka & Santa Fe) plan to merge in a \$2.7 billion stock swap. The new company will have 31,000 miles of track in the Midwest, Southeast and West. The new name's a mouthful, though. Can you imagine Judy Garland singing, "On the Burlington Northern and Santa Fe Railway Company"?

Railroad operating revenue in 1993 (billions).

Union Pacific	\$4.86
Burlington Northern	\$4.70
CSX	\$4.38
Norfolk & Southern	\$3.75
Consolidated Rail	\$3.35
Atchafalaya, Topeka & Santa Fe (Santa Fe Pacific)	\$2.41
Southern Pacific	\$2.39

Figures exclude revenues from non-railroad subsidiaries.
Source: Association of American Railroads

Have Phone, Will Amble

Not long ago, the phone business seemed downright orderly (back when phones had cords and calls traveled over wires). AT&T and its rivals had long distance, the Baby Bells short distance. But then this wireless stuff started, and cable got mixed up in it, and now it's a free-for-all again. AT&T is trying to buy McCaw, the No. 1 cellular company, but Bell Atlantic is determined to take them on. Last week it agreed to merge its cellular holdings with Nynex's, locking up a big chunk of the East Coast, and it's eyeing other alliances across the nation. And as these giants battle it out, the competition should drive down those hefty rates for cellular calls — and clog the sidewalks with people walking along having very serious phone conversations.



Health Care: The Longest Battle

Has this endless health care battle been worse than Normandy? When Sam Gibbons, who grabbed the House health baton when Dan Rostenkowski was sent to the doghouse, was asked that, he said only, "It was longer." But for Mr. Gibbons's Ways and Means Committee, at least, it ended last week, as the panel barely passed legislation that includes two items on the President's must-have list: coverage for all, with employers picking up most of the tab. In the Senate, though, Pat Moynihan and Bob Dole faced off in the Finance Committee on a requirement for employers to pay for coverage, and Mr. Moynihan was soundly defeated. By the time this increasingly partisan jockeying is over, of course, the health industry may reinvent itself to the point that most "reform" is redundant.

Cuomo Finds a Soft Spot

"I can't give money away to make myself popular," Gov. Mario Cuomo said in February, referring to some state taxes that retired Federal employees had paid and now wanted back. In the late 80's, it seems, New York made Federal retirees pay taxes on pension income while exempting state workers. The Supreme Court put an end to that in 1989, and then retirees demanded the taxes back that they'd paid from 1988 to 1989. But Mr. Cuomo was balking. Last week, though, he said the state would refund some \$62 million — an average of \$8,000 per retiree.

The Numbers Never Will

School's out, July 4 is upon us: this nation's thinking summer. But still the economic numbers come, like the sorcerer's merciless brooms, so pore we must over these wispy smoke signals. What does last week's batch tell us? A bit of this, a bit of that. New-home sales were strong, consumer confidence hit a four-year high, construction spending posted its third rise. That adds up to economic overheating, imminent inflation. But wait: the leading indicators, which are supposed to sum it all up, were unchanged for the second month — and that, of course, means cool and steady. So flip a coin, have some designer self, and don't think about it till Tuesday.

Smoke-Easies? Not Just Yet

Tobacco companies have been taking out ads raising alarms about cigarettes being banned, but David Kessler, head of the F.D.A., said no such drastic moves are contemplated. In fact, he said, he hopes to avoid big regulatory changes — in spite of recent disclosures about addiction. It gets tricky, though, because if the F.D.A. declares nicotine an addictive drug — the almost inevitable next turn in this fast-moving plot — the legal wheels start turning on autopilot: if it's a drug, the F.D.A. must declare it safe, which is impossible. . .



Andrea Mohr/The New York Times

The Intel Variation

Companies adore sports; with America's fixation on bouncing balls and swinging bats and grunting millionaires, any sponsor that shoves its name in front of fans gets big-time visibility. But chess? Uh, we'll just watch some paint dry, thanks. But now comes Intel, which says chess can be turned into a spectator sport, and is sponsoring the Professional Chess Association, led by the world champion, Gary Kasparov. Last week at the Javits Center, Intel assembled top world players, made them move before fans nodded off (maximum game time: 50 minutes), and added in big screens and fancy graphics. The Knicks? How's their pawn center?



Jack Manning/The New York Times

Order on the High Seas

For two decades, many nations perched on the earth's land have tried to agree on a law for the earth's water — a Law of the Sea treaty covering issues like fishing and oil exploration, a recognition that the oceans are a "common heritage of mankind." No way, said President Reagan in 1982, saying the pact violated the idea of free enterprise. But last week the Administration said that America would finally sign — that the pact was friendlier to business now. (Though some conservatives still see too many burdens on business.)

Blue Cross Joins the Fray

The health care sands keep shifting before our eyes. For 60 years Blue Cross and Blue Shield has been the symbol of nonprofit sprawl, but that approach just may not work anymore. With insurers creating vast alliances, all the managed-care networks need to invest in fancy technology. So last week Blue Cross said, well, profit is O.K. after all — and allowed its members to shed their nonprofit yokes and sell stock. The move drew some fire, with one critic fearful of seeing "healthy profits become more important than healthy patients." And what of battered Empire Blue Cross? Nonprofit is just fine, it said — surely realizing investors would be scarce anyway.

A Pyramid for the West Side

Most people's real estate dreams are modest — a first house, fixing a kitchen. But Donald Trump's dreams have always been of a different order. For a decade he's pined to erect a high-rise colossus along the Hudson from 59th to 72d, always to be delayed by debts and doubters. But last week his Riverside South — 5,000 or so apartments, 16 towers — suddenly seemed real. A group of Hong Kong investors came up with some big money (amount: unspecified) to get him started, and work could actually begin within a year. It's a "solid vote of confidence in New York City," said Mayor Giuliani. But critics, like the Coalition for a Livable West Side, still aren't cheering.

World Markets/James Brooke

Coffee and Oil Feed Boom in Colombia

WORLD attention swiveled to Colombia last week after a freeze damaged coffee crops in Brazil and sent coffee prices spiking up to eight-year highs. But the world's second-largest producer of coffee is riding more than a bean bonanza.

For the first half of 1994, Colombia had one of the best performing stock markets in the world. Bucking a slump in emerging markets, Colombia's stock market index jumped to 1019.7, or 30.6 percent in dollar terms, this year, behind only Japan's market, which has risen 34.6 percent this year. Other top performing markets include Chile, at 21.7 percent, and Peru, at 15.4 percent.

In the first half of this year, volumes on Colombia's three exchanges — in Bogotá, Medellín and Occidente — totaled \$1.7 billion, nearly double the volume last year.

"The future outlook is good; the coffee price increase and the Cusiana bonanza are good news," said Hernán Valdivieso, general manager of Casa de Bolsa, a leading brokerage firm here. He referred to the enormous Cusiana oil fields that will start producing next year in eastern Colombia. "If we did not have the drug and violence problem," he said, "we could be another Hong Kong or Taiwan."

In recent years, Colombia's illicit cocaine trade harmed the country's image as an appropriate market for investment. But this seems to be changing after Colombian police shot and killed Pablo Escobar, the country's most notorious cocaine trafficker, last December. "When Escobar died, foreign investors started to look at the country in a more favorable light," said Alden Brewster, a New York trader in emerging markets.

Despite the relatively small size of Colombia's markets, foreign interest is now soaring. In the last 18 months, the number of foreign funds investing in Colombia's markets increased to 85 from 22. And the portfolio of foreign-held stocks in Colombia has more than quadrupled in the last year, to \$400 million at the end of May.

Bogotá's exchange, the largest in the Andean region, ranks as Latin America's fifth largest — after the exchanges in Mexico

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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Term Limits and the High Court

In the coming year, the Supreme Court will answer the question of whether individual states have the right to limit the terms of members of Congress. The justices' task is not to decide whether term limits are a good or bad idea as a political matter, but whether an individual state has a right to prescribe the terms for the Federal legislature whose membership requirements are set by the Constitution.

Both the language of the Constitution and the history of its framing make it clear that the states do not have that right. The Court therefore has an obligation to follow the wisdom of the founders, who saw clearly that state-imposed limits that would apply unevenly to representatives and senators depending on where they lived would foul up the Constitution's design of a national union.

In this case, the legal arguments will likely begin where the Court left off in 1969. It ruled then, in the Adam Clayton Powell case, that the House could not refuse to seat an elected member who met the Constitution's only qualifications of age, residence and citizenship. The Court held that although each house of Congress had the power to decide whether a candidate had those qualifications, neither chamber had the right to add to them. Advocates of term limits make the extraordinary claim that the states can add requirements that Congress itself cannot add.

Delegates to the constitutional convention provided three exclusive eligibility requirements for Congress: age, citizenship and residence within the

state represented. The drafters of the Constitution gave the states only the limited authority to "prescribe the 'time, place and manner' of Congressional elections, and made even that authority subject to Congress's right to make and alter such rules.

There is no reasonable way that the traditional interpretation of "time, place and manner" — which lets the states run balloting — allows them to add qualifications for office or to define the terms of Federal officeholders. What they do at home, of course, is their own business. While the limiting of local terms may be unwise, it is not unconstitutional.

But the history of the Constitution shows that the nation's founders were determined to avoid limiting the terms of Congress. In writing the Constitution, they specifically rejected the term limits that existed in the Articles of Confederation. They saw such restrictions, and other barriers like property-holding, as deeply antithetical to the running of an orderly and uniform national legislature. They said not a word about letting states impose limits that even Congress could not impose.

If the American people want to limit Congressional terms they can do so by amending the Constitution in the prescribed ways. But no state can be allowed to abrogate this Federal function by convening its legislature and setting its own rules. The Court has an obligation to prevent such grabs of authority by attending closely to the Constitution and the clear plan of its writers.

African Despair, and Hope

Africa was given unaccustomed attention last week as the Clinton Administration held a two-day conference on the economic and political afflictions in 30 countries south of the Sahara. But what the conference unintentionally highlighted was the low priority Mr. Clinton has given to a region whose enormous promise is blighted by declining economies and soaring fertility rates.

The cold war's demise, however welcome elsewhere, has proved a setback for black Africa. Superpower rivalry once gave crucial influence to poor lands with prized real estate for military bases, or a grip on maritime "choke points," or large reserves of strategic minerals. But with the Soviet-American competition now over, the C.I.A. is closing 15 African stations. Actual U.S. development aid to sub-Saharan Africa has tapered to around \$800 billion this year, as the industrialized world pumps an increasing share of multilateral development funds into the former Communist countries.

As The Times's John Darnton detailed in a recent series, Africa's leverage has markedly weakened during a grim decade when its gross national product declined 2 percent a year. A single figure underscores the disastrous state of the region's economy. Excluding South Africa, the total output in 1991 of all countries below the Sahara, with a combined population of nearly 600 million, was roughly the same as the gross national product of Belgium, home of 10 million people. And as output plunged, the region's foreign debt tripled, to \$180 billion. Its population will double in 25 years, further straining resources, if the present fertility rates continue.

None of this justifies passivity or despair. Sub-Saharan Africa boasts far more arable land and mineral riches than other poor regions. And in an

unforeseen windfall, South Africa, the region's industrial powerhouse, has ceased to be an economic and political pariah after a peaceful democratic revolution brimming with promise.

South Africa's salutary transformation is the region's most stirring event since the post-colonial surge to independence 30 years ago. Not only has apartheid been revoked, but President Nelson Mandela has shown how to turn bitter adversaries into political allies, providing a model for African states polarized by ethnic and political rivalries. And if Pretoria really opens its own frontiers to freer trade, it could jump-start stalled economies elsewhere.

Given a spell of peace and trade across open frontiers, plus the stimulus of a dozen new stock markets, sub-Saharan Africa's economy could grow by 3.9 percent a year in the coming decade, according to forecasts by the World Bank. But Africa is not a machine that can accelerate by itself; it needs the help of a world that has been too quick to take profits out of Africa and too slow to extend a helping hand.

Africa's immediate needs include debt forgiveness or at least a generous rescheduling of loans it cannot possibly repay; seed money for small-scale development rather than big-ticket prestige projects coveted by dictators, and aggressive diplomacy to help end wars and promote democratic reforms.

The Clinton Administration justifies the relative penury of its African development programs by pointing to competing needs. Maybe so. But that excuse cannot explain the absence of a single high-profile appointee to serve as an advocate and goad to conscience. Africa has fallen into the lap of anonymous bureaucrats and staggers of conferences. It deserves far better.

Editorial Notebook

Wisconsin Rediscovered Wright

This is a salubrious summer for Wisconsin and its outside but difficult son, Frank Lloyd Wright. After ignoring his genius for seven decades, the state government is now

the sponsor of a \$20 million program to restore Taliesin, the architect's eloquent but neglected home in Spring Green, an hour's drive from Madison. In Madison itself, state, city and county governments have joined in a business-promoted plan to build the Monona Terrace Convention and Community Center. Wright drew the original plans without fee in 1938, and revised them before his death in 1959. No less than eight city referendums sprang from arguments over this project, which has been successively approved, disapproved, reborn, rebuffed and now, it seems, resurrected.

This time, remarkably, people who agree on little else favor the dramatic \$64 million lakefront complex. That includes a thoroughly conservative Republican Governor, Tommy Thompson, and Paul Soglin, a counterculture Democrat when first elected Mayor of Madison in 1973. Mr. Wright (as disciples still call him) has become posthumously respectable despite his supremely unconventional views on life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. His politics were radical and pacifist, and he scorned bourgeois domesticity.

One moral is that time domesticates genius, that newspaper scandals fade, that real fame outshines its zircon facsimile, celebrity. A second moral is that it helps if pilgrims from the world over come to pay homage to a universal artist, with residual benefits to tourism. I happened to be present on the splendid June day that Governor Thompson dedicated the new visitor's center near Taliesin, aptly located in the former Riverview Restaurant that Wright himself designed. A farm boy from Elroy, Wis. (pop. 1,533), the Governor was charmingly forthright about his conversion to the cause of Wright. It

How Japanese Ennui Helped Restore Taliesin

happened not long after his first inaugural, in 1987, during a trip to Japan meant to promote investment and touristic interest in Wisconsin.

Oh, the Japanese were polite enough, Mr. Thompson recalled, but curtains seemed to be drawn over their eyes. "Those curtains snapped up when I mentioned that Wisconsin was Wright's birthplace and that his home and studio were near Madison." That registered; and so did a visit back home from an unlikely caller, Marshall Erdman, builder and fervent Democrat, whose association with the architect began in Madison with the construction of the Wright-designed Unitarian Church in the 1950's.

Mr. Erdman, a rotund presence at the dedication, recalled that he had vainly tried to persuade five Democratic Governors to help restore Taliesin (Welsh for "shining brow"), whose main building on the 600-acre site dates to 1911. These were his first words to Mr. Thompson: "I know you'll say no, but let me ask ask anyway." But the Governor said yes, and he delivered.

This shift delighted a broadcast executive named George Nelson, who had long dreamed of reviving the Monona Terrace project, nine times declared dead. His message was businesslike: Madison needs a convention center, and it needs a magnet for better hotels and more tourism. A fixture in the local Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Nelson found political allies across party lines in forming the Monona Terrace Commission, which he chairs.

And so old plans were exhumed, and Tony Putnam, who worked on them as a student at Taliesin, is making necessary but minimal revisions. Groundbreaking awaits a final environmental study by the Corps of Engineers. So this Wisconsinite is happy to correct a previous notebook chiding the state for its chilly indifference to Wright. It took a half-century, but the chill has gone.

KARL E. MEYER

In Simpson Case, Violence Comes Off the Field

To the Editor:

For me, a thrilling play on the football field does not symbolize freedom, as some of the coverage of the O. J. Simpson case seems to say. Instead, I see tackling, sacking, physical blocking and charging as the epitome of the aggression and brutality that define any gladiator sport.

If we had delusions that those who engage in such sports are able to distinguish between the playing field and reality, the fans along the Los Angeles freeways dispelled them.

For those spectators, the thrilling plays of the game had simply moved to the open road, and the reality of murder was no different from the reality of a touchdown.

Whether O. J. Simpson is guilty or not is less important to me than the attitude of people — potential jurors — who are even now silently shouting, "Go, Juice."

Even more upsetting is the attitude of reporters and others who insist that there is more than one O. J. Simpson. Here is a man who has been enormously rewarded for his skills in a violent sport and has described his beating of a woman as "no big deal." Why are we surprised that the same man might have ended the lives of people who became for him the opposing team? CAMILLE MINICHINO
San Leandro, Calif., June 27, 1994

A Balanced Scale

To the Editor:

William Safire, in "Like a Battered Husband" (column, June 20) is right when he states that "responsibility rests . . . on the murderer, whether an admired celebrity or a hated hoodlum." When a celebrity is involved in a crime, the perception of justice undergoes a change in the

eyes of the public and the media. We are so willing to look them up and throw away the key for an alleged drug addict caught with one vial of crack, but at the same time we are discussing the ways we can skirt the justice system for O. J. Simpson, an alleged double murderer. Experienced criminal lawyers around the country are adding to this frenzy and offering ideas from how Mr. Simpson should plead to trial strategy for his lawyer Robert Shapiro.

Look carefully at Lady Justice. She carries a balanced scale, and she is blindfolded. ARTHUR WHITE
New York, June 24, 1994

Uncomfortable Truths

To the Editor:

"Remember Nicole Brown Simpson," Anna Quindlen urges us (column, June 22). Dare one note that two lives were taken in this brutal murder. It is time to say also: Remember Robert L. Goldman. Ms. Quindlen's column, in its singleminded effort to raise a specific murder into a general theory of battered wives, curiously leaves out the fact that Mr. Goldman was a victim no less worthy of a long life than Nicole Brown Simpson.

But beyond the obvious myopia of Ms. Quindlen are several larger, if uncomfortable, truths: There are a multiplicity of thresholds involved in acts of violence. Very few women subject to battering are murdered. And before we convert this particular case into another anti-male social movement, the huge jump from a battering in 1989 to a murder in 1994 should be traversed with some care.

Ms. Quindlen has every right to express her outrage at the conversion of this sad episode into a soap-opera tragedy for the man who is charged with homicide. But she is not entitled to operate from the premise that O. J. Simpson is guilty as charged.

Until a court and a jury state otherwise, he is entitled to a presumption of innocence and not the slippery idea that there is an automatic linkage of a minor felony with a major manslaughter.

Ms. Quindlen might have said that Mr. Goldman would not have fallen victim were the killer not enraged at Ms. Simpson's purported behavior — and that this indeed illustrates domestic violence (if it turns out that O. J. Simpson was the killer).

But she is not within her rights to suppress the fact of two murders — one against a woman and another against a man — simply to score dubious points en route to a social mission. IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ
New Brunswick, N.J., June 22, 1994

The writer is a professor of sociology and political science, Rutgers U.

Remember the Children

To the Editor:

In the early 1960's my father was my hero, much as O. J. Simpson was America's hero.

Though not an athlete, my father had surmounted the poverty and segregated schools of New Iberia, La. He had served honorably in the Marine Corps during World War II and later became an Army officer. A brilliant student, he earned a master's degree in economics and graduated near the top of his law school class in the 1950's before starting out on what promised to be a stellar legal career in Baltimore.

Like O. J. Simpson, my father was a spouse abuser. I still carry the painful memory of watching helplessly as my father raged uncontrollably at my mother, pummeling her and chasing her from the house.

Years later my father would meet an untimely death, virtually a slow suicide by alcohol, in a Veterans Administration hospital.

We must face the unpleasant reality that otherwise good, even great, people may harbor tragic flaws. We must also hold such people accountable for their behavior.

And perhaps more than anything else, we must remember the children. CHRISTOPHER H. FOREMAN JR.
Washington, June 23, 1994

The writer is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

For France, Disney Magic Didn't Work

To the Editor:

Some Virginia residents believe that a Walt Disney Company theme park built near important Civil War battlefields will automatically result in an economic boom. They are wrong. A decade ago Disney made similar promises to the French, saying a theme park with European overtones would capitalize on tourists visiting Paris.

At it turned out, EuroDisney not only created an eyesore outside of Paris, but also resulted in a financial disaster because tourists traveling to France do not do so to patronize a theme park. This is also true for tourists visiting the Washington area.

Virginia can learn from France's awful experience with the Disney Company and should resist giving tax breaks and other incentives to a corporation that created one of Europe's largest financial burdens in recent memory. MARK F. BRZEZINSKI
Oxford, England, June 23, 1994

National Park Langford

To the Editor:

Thank you for "Rebelling Against Disney" (editorial, June 19), on the proposed Disney theme park in Virginia. It sometimes seems there is no concern for our historic heritage.

I was especially interested in your "little history lesson" about Ulysses S. Grant and the establishment of Yellowstone National Park. Nathaniel Pitt Langford, my great-grand-



Viktor Koen

cle, was a member of the Washburn Expedition in 1870 that explored the Yellowstone area that became the first national park.

He left a diary in which he told of seeing water thrown high into the air from what would be called a geyser. He was especially impressed by one that did not erupt constantly, but once every hour! He urged President Grant to set this area aside for the use of the people and not let it become a commercial venture.

He was among those instrumental in establishing the National Park Service and was named Yellowstone's first superintendent. A ranger told me he was known as National Park Langford. JOHN M. ALDEN
Staatsburg, N.Y., June 21, 1994

Taking a Positive Step on North Korea

To the Editor:

Re "The Carter Opening" (editorial, June 21), on Jimmy Carter's trip to North Korea.

For months, we have been hearing the same kind of rhetoric from the same kind of so-called experts about North Korea and its intentions and capabilities as we heard in the post-World War II period about China. The rhetoric then was all the reasons we should not sit down with the Chinese because they had aspirations to control Asia. History has shown that the rebuff of Zhou Enlai by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and others was a mistake, and even former Secretary of State Dean Rusk acknowledged in his last book he was wrong in his fear of the "yellow peril."

All of this emotional reaction by Democrats and Republicans against any kind of negotiations with the Chinese led in my opinion to the wars in Korea and Vietnam, where hundreds of thousands of United States soldiers were killed, maimed or wounded. Only in 1971 did President Richard M. Nixon, one of the most vociferous anti-Chinese, begin talks that led to normalization of United States relations with China.

North Korea now and China then may be different, but only in degree. North Korea is smaller and less important, but very few people in this Administration or country know anything about it.

If we have learned anything from nonrecognition of China after World War II and normalization with it in the 1970's, it is that all the bluster about the strength and determination of North Korea to start an atomic war should cease, and we should sit down and even force South Korea to sit down and offer to treat North Korea as a nation in a normal way, irrespective of ideology, leaders or history.

If something comes of that, as I think it will, and North Korea joins the community of nations, all the talks are worth it. Military options are always available. Asia is our largest expanding commercial market. We have spilled enough American blood, causing a loss of a generation of our youth and the depreciation of our dollar. Let's follow what the British did in 1953 when they sent a trade group called the 48 Group to give confidence.

President Clinton need not apologize for President Carter's trip; he should be proud of it, as there is nothing wrong with a policy of offering trade and recognition if North Korea stops its nuclear program.

But such a change will not come by the threat of arms or annihilation, with embargo as a first step. It will come by offers of trade and commerce, as it did with China, and I think the country and world will applaud Mr. Clinton if he can accomplish it. LAURENCE W. LEVINE
New York, June 23, 1994

The writer was one of the third parties who spoke with the Chinese in the 1960's, paving the way to recognition.

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How Long Can We Afford to Glorify the Frontier Mentality?

To the Editor:

The legal controversy about an armed population seems to turn on interpretations of the Constitution's Second Amendment, precluding Federal limitations because a well-regulated militia was once needed for protection against Indian tribes (Native Americans) in league with the French down from Quebec. However, a more serious argument seems to me to be ignored. It is that the position of, for example, the National Rifle Association and its supporters, wittingly or not, serves to legitimate the anarchy of American society — and this in the name of law and order.

It is hardly original to say that the use of civil procedures for the orderly resolution of disputes has distinguished domestic political life from the anarchy of an international order of sovereign units. In a real sense, the 20th century has been distinguished by the only modestly successful at-

tempts to have states substitute collective security arrangements and collectively established procedures for the anarchic tradition of self-help.

A totally successful League of Nations or United Nations might have encouraged members of the international order to behave as much like a community as we ourselves claim to do domestically.

But for each of us to be armed is to demonstrate that in case of dispute or imminent conflict, we will take care of ourselves without resort to the police, courts or orderly procedures.

The contribution of the National Rifle Association to this disintegrative spirit, uncivil and premodern, can hardly be exaggerated. Frontier vigilantism, vendetta-driven antagonisms, intolerance and bigotry cannot all be laid at the N.R.A.'s door, but its claim to uphold the Constitution against would-be oppressors is just as far-fetched.

The international setting has not grown less anarchic, but our domestic setting has grown more so, thus becoming the world of all against all, making life poor, nasty, brutish and short, as Thomas Hobbes would have it. That condition has been accelerated by the media and our cultural complicity. K. ROBERT NILSSON
Carlisle, Pa., June 27, 1994

The writer retired as professor of political science at Dickinson College.

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Journal

FRANK RICH

The Diller Instinct

Quick holiday quiz: Who is "the Darth Vader of cable"?

What was Viacom's "collar"?

Which high-priced Hollywood executive chewed out his staff so vehemently that his nose started to bleed? Don't feel bad if you can't answer any of the above. Months after the truce, few Americans remember or care about the antic bidding war for Paramount Communications Inc. Though the battle over that entertainment conglomerate inflamed headlines for weeks, its resolution has had little effect except on the corporations directly involved.

Now the losing antagonist in that struggle, Barry Diller, has resurfaced in yet another entertainment-industry upheaval: a potential merger between Mr. Diller's cable home-shopping outlet, QVC, and CBS. Must we pay attention, even at the price of being briefly distracted from the initials du jour, O.J. and DNA?

The answer is yes. Should Mr. Diller become the chief executive of CBS — which is the only fact of the proposed deal anyone needs to know — the corporation that ruled much of our culture for decades will once again be in the hands of a leader as driven and possibly as creative as its founder, William Paley. A sleeping electronic giant that reaches into nearly every American home will awaken with a roar.

Forget all the zircon jokes about Mr. Diller. His temporary exile at the inane (if lucrative) QVC notwithstanding, he is one of four men in American show business who have the same rare combination of entrepreneurial talent, ruthlessness and instinct for mass taste that can redefine the entire cultural landscape. The other three are Michael Eisner, Rupert Murdoch and Ted Turner — and if you doubt their impact, ponder the ubiquity of Disney parks and movies, tabloid television and CNN.

Mr. Diller's reputation is not hype. He began his career classically, in the mailroom of the William Morris Agency. When still in his 20's, he realigned prime-time television entertainment by inventing made-for-TV movies and mini-series at ABC. By age 31, he was running and rejuvenating Paramount, the studio he later failed to buy. In his 40's, he built a television network, Fox, from scratch — a feat not accomplished since Leonard Goldenson created ABC in 1953.

Such a career trajectory recalls the CBS founder's. Paley was an empire builder in the line of Louis B. Mayer and the Warner brothers — the immigrants whose consuming passion for

See it now at CBS.

show business and power created the Hollywood movie industry. Paley's CBS helped make American institutions out of wares as varied as "I Love Lucy," Leonard Bernstein, "My Fair Lady," Bob Dylan, Edward R. Murrow, Barbra Streisand and the National Football League.

Paley's successor, Laurence Tisch, is by contrast a financier in the modern mode of Kirk Kerkorian, who carved up and disposed of the once great Metro Goldwyn Mayer for cash. Or, as one high CBS executive put it, "Larry Tisch took the job as C.E.O. of CBS not because he wanted to be a broadcaster but because that was the best place to watch his money."

Since 1988, CBS has accrued profits, David Letterman and Nielsen victories, but it has been stripped of assets and identity. CBS Records, the best and largest record company in the world, was sold to Sony at a bargain price; the equally legendary CBS News has been belt-tightened into near strangulation. This season Mr. Tisch stood idly by as both the N.F.L. and eight CBS affiliate stations were hijacked by Fox.

What will the 52-year-old Mr. Diller do in his stead? People who know him take seriously his talk of completely remaking the company into what one calls "a mélange of interactive TV, movies, cable and shopping." If that sounds unimaginable, so, in its day, was Paley's vision of a CBS linking the broadcasting, recording, publishing and sports industries.

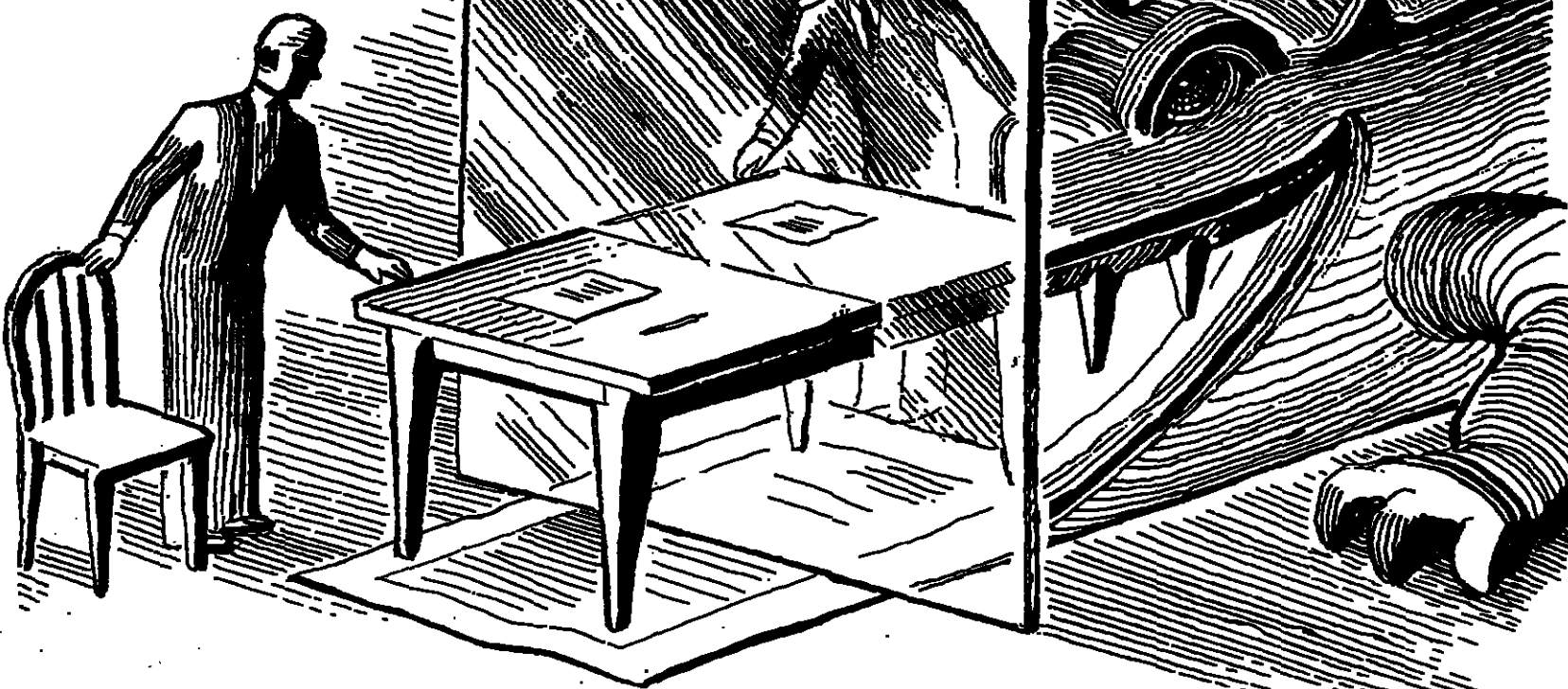
As Mr. Diller shares Paley's will and vision, so he shares his eye for profitable schlock. There's an "America's Most Wanted" for every "Roots" in Mr. Diller's résumé (as there was a "My Favorite Martian" for every "See It Now" in Paley's). But unlike the current corporate management at CBS, Mr. Diller is in show business to expand and change it, not merely to manage or milk it. Now that American entertainment from "Larry King Live" to Pearl Jam calls the shots in this country more than most politicians, what a strongman like Barry Diller does at an empire like CBS will be a must-watch. □

By David Gompert

The Clinton Administration has reluctantly decided to join our European partners in an attempt to end the war in Bosnia as soon as possible by giving half that country to Serbia. We are thus a step closer to blessing Serbia's victory and just a step away from pardoning this conquest by lifting the economic embargo on Serbia.

In Geneva on Tuesday, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev of Russia and their Western European counterparts are expected to approve a plan

David Gompert, a Rand vice president, was a senior director on the Bush Administration's National Security Council staff. This is adapted from a longer article in the current issue of Foreign Affairs.



Throwaway Youth

By Greg Donaldson

For the last three years, I have ridden the subway through Brooklyn to Brownsville, one of the toughest neighborhoods in the country. Every time the doors of the train slide open, I wonder if the bad guys will get on looking for a victim.

Sometimes it is hard to tell the baby gunmen from the kids just trying to grow up without getting shot. Often the basketball players or the kids on the Thomas Jefferson High School debate team, kids who haven't had the heart cut out of them by the relentless violence in their neighborhoods, dress just like the killers, so they won't become victims themselves.

A vast number of black and Latino youths in the inner cities are trying desperately to make some sense of their lives. But they are caught in a crossfire between a small group of sociopaths in their midst and the larger society that ignores their potential and has written them out of the future.

Every time a deliveryman is murdered, a drama teacher shot off his bike in the park, public opinion hard-

Greg Donaldson, an instructor at New York City Technical College, is author of "The Ville," a book about young men in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn.

ens against taking steps to remedy the desperate condition of urban youth, including those who carry dreams instead of guns. Public policy tolerates racial segregation in housing, dysfunctional schools and an economic system that has no place for these youth, thereby sealing off their escape routes from the killing zones.

Trapped between the shooters in their neighborhoods and a society that fears and quarantines them, a generation of city teenagers is turning inward, away from counsel from the old

Neglect, violence and 'mad agents.'

heads in their community and communication with the larger society. If escape and advancement are out of reach, they will make a virtue of the hard truths of their existence.

Effectively shut out of legitimate social structures, relegated by our economy to be nothing more than lifetime consumers, they have created their own shadow hierarchies based on things like clothing. One New York group calls itself the Lollies and wears only Polo by Ralph Lauren — which its members shoplift. The worship of money is so intense that kids

nickname themselves "Money," talk incessantly about "loot" and refer to stealing as "getting paid." A hit song by the rapper Snoop Doggy Dogg includes the chorus: "I've got my mind on my money and my money on my mind." The gangster rappers pick up the cadence of the automatic gunfire and chant of death by the bullet. "Rollin' with this one and that one — pullin' out guns for fun," recites the Wu-Tang Clan. "Rummin' up big hoes, doin' hits for high stakes, makin' my way on fire escapes."

For the young, the lyrics and posturing relieve some of the despair of urban reality but not the constant fear. They are ever aware of the real nautics in their midst. In Brooklyn they call them "mad agents," people who will shoot you for stepping on their toes or taking too long on a pay phone. For anyone who thinks the effects of urban experience can readily be overcome by personal fortitude, imagine trying to concentrate through a day's work knowing that a person with a gun is waiting for you outside.

From the earliest age, inner-city kids are forced to adapt to such mortal fear, while they are bombarded with the message that they are expendable. By adolescence, kids lose their hope and eventually their empathy. Some are pushed over the edge.

The kids want to work. I have seen them besiege school administrators for a few internships. I have seen a dropout, a petty thief, turned into a

CITY KIDS
An occasional series.

responsible person by a decent job. As I walk through the projects I have heard them plead: "You a reporter? Can you get me a job?"

But the likelihood is that there will be no jobs. It is simply not on the agenda. In 1992 the "Save a Generation" program started with a proposal for 1,000 living-wage jobs for Bronx youth. With the support of John Cardinal O'Connor and Fernando Ferrer, the Bronx Borough President, the program raised high hopes for an alternative to the underground economy. After two years of intense effort, program leaders now hope to realize just 25 minimum-wage jobs.

None of this means we should ignore crime. Of course there are crimes for which there's no excuse; people, even very young ones, who must be swiftly segregated from society. Lock up the "mad agents," sure, but remember the generation of minority youth that remains; remember that a policy of neglect and containment will lead to more misery and killing.

Right now our societal intent is clear. In Brownsville, the city is at work on a \$30 million youth detention center so young people don't ever have to leave the neighborhood, even to go to jail.

In America

BOB HERBERT

Bears Who Swim Too Much

Stressed out? City life got you down? Some folks reach for a drink. Others jog. Gus swims.

Gus is the 700-pound polar bear who lives with his two wives, Ida and Lily, in a sparsely furnished four-bedroom suite at the Central Park Zoo. He's been in the news lately. There is some question about his mental state. It is believed that life in the unnatural habitat called Manhattan is making Gus a little crazy.

Why wouldn't it? Gus has all of the disadvantages of big-city living and few of the advantages. He can't, for example, amble over to Zabar's and pick up 50 or 100 pounds of salmon. Museum visits are out of the question. And, as polar bears have been known to tear a human being limb from limb, visitors and keepers at the zoo tend to keep their distance.

It's not a very stimulating life. So Gus swims. And swims and swims. Hour after hour, day after day, year after year, he pulls himself through the water with the same long lazy backstrokes, a feat that is highly entertaining to onlookers but has started to perturb the zookeepers.

(Dr. William Conway would probably object to being called a zookeeper. He's the general director of

the Wildlife Conservation Society, formerly the New York Zoological Society, which decided last year that zoos in New York are far too upscale to be called zoos. They are now known officially as wildlife conservation parks.)

"It's too repetitive," Dr. Conway said about Gus's swimming. "The first thing you worry about is whether this reflects some deep-seated physical problem. Is he losing weight? Is his appetite off? Is his behavior toward the ladies he's living with declining?"

For a moment I couldn't tell whether Dr. Conway was talking about bears or middle age, but I hung on.

"The answer to all of those things is no! Gus is in good shape and I think he's happy as a bear. But he has that itchy, the behavior is excessively repetitive."

So the Wildlife Conservation Society has hired an animal behaviorist — "a very good and sensitive person," according to Dr. Conway — to try and get Gus to do something other than the backstroke with his spare time.

I wondered why they didn't just leave the bear alone. Dr. Bonnie Beaver, a veterinarian at Texas A.M., noted last week that zoo animals are

fed high-quality food that provides "a lot of energy." That energy has to be worked off somehow. Polar bears are nomads, wanderers who generally travel great distances in search of seals, walrus, reindeer and muskoxen. That option is closed to Gus. He can only dream about such delicacies (and the fun of stalking them) as he

Boredom at the Central Park Zoo.

plunges into the pool and tries to work off his frustration and excess energy by swimming.

"He obviously finds it rewarding and enjoys it," said Dr. Conway. "I'm a jogger and you're rewarded by those endorphins, especially when you get to a certain level of competence. I suspect that same kind of thing is happening with Gus."

So, if he's not harming himself, and if there's no evidence of a physical problem, and if we believe he's enjoy-

ing himself, why try to change Gus's behavior?

Said Dr. Conway, "Simply because it appears that this repetitive behavior is abnormal, and you don't want to exhibit an abnormal behavior."

The professionals have spoken and Gus is being experimented upon for his own good. The idea, supposedly, is to enrich his daily experience, thus easing the boredom and frustration that led to his excessively repetitive swimming patterns. Bits and pieces of food and other goodies are being stashed in all kinds of tricky and out-of-the-way places so that Gus — and Ida and Lily, too — will have to expend all kinds of energy rooting them out. For the three bears, it's sort of like a lifetime Easter egg hunt.

Now maybe this is better for the bears in the long run. But the only ones upset by Gus's swimming are the human beings who run the zoo. I have to believe that if Gus had a say, he would tell the experts and the theorists to take a hike.

Gus and Ida and Lily have made peace with their close Manhattan confines, coping as best they can with a near-total absence of freedom. Now if only their captors would leave them alone. □

negotiable?)

In its eagerness to stop the fighting, the West is presenting President Milosevic with the opportunity to become victor, peacemaker and father of Greater Serbia.

Wary of Secretary Christopher's "problem from hell," the U.S. may now have to send American troops to police the results of ethnic cleansing. Should we not pause to consider whether there may be some better, if imperfect, alternative?

There is — if the West can summon the will to wage a cold war against Serbia until a democratic revolution discards its criminal regime. Economic sanctions and information warfare may take years to reform Serbia, but the outcome is certain.

Those who dismiss the eventual demise of Milosevic Inc. as unrealistic will be hard-pressed to explain the more remarkable results of Western steadfastness in defeating Soviet Communism and South African apartheid.

In any case, ending Serbia's punishment and isolation now, in return for a flawed and unstable peace, would extend the life of this Balkan bully for years, bringing new crises and more atrocities.

Would our allies see it through? In fact, the Europeans

have proved quite firm in sanctions against South Africa, Libya and Iraq. In the case of Serbia, they can easily endure the limited damage to themselves. At any rate, if the allies believe sanctions cannot be sustained, why do they believe the Serbs will concede hard-won territory to get them removed?

A more legitimate concern is with the harmful effect of the embargo on the frail new democracies of southeastern Europe: Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria and Romania. The West cannot treat them as expendable.

Instead, the European Union and the United States should expand and sustain economic support so that these frontline states can survive even as Serbia falters.

A quarantine of Serbia is more likely to succeed if accompanied by a campaign to inform the Serbs why they are being treated as lepers. To date, the Serbs may be miserable, but they believe they are right, and they blame the West, not Mr. Milosevic, for their plight.

But most Serbs only know what they see on the television station he controls. With Western help, television and fax networks — the technology that rattled and helped wreck the Soviet system — could break Mr. Milosevic's information monopoly. Serbs need to know the truth about their rulers, the atrocities in Bosnia, the reasons for their hardship and their options.

During a cold war against Serbia,

Punitive isolation will bring down Milosevic.

scattered fighting would be likely to persist in Bosnia. But now that the threat of NATO air strikes exists, the Serbs could be deterred from attacking the half-dozen Muslim enclaves in Bosnia's Serbian-controlled area, and even if the Muslims attempted limited counteroffensives there is little reason to think the fighting would spread or that the main battle lines would shift.

The West cannot resolve this conflict on acceptable terms with limited air power. But it should leave no doubt that air strikes would be used to uphold U.N. decisions and protect peacekeeping troops. Humanitarian relief convoys would get through to affected populations if they had adequate ground and air escorts who were ordered to use all necessary force. Those who interfered with such efforts or harm U.N. personnel should be exposed to air attack and charged with war crimes.

To the French and British, who say they might pull out of Bosnia if there is not a quick deal with the Serbs, the U.S. should offer air cover and make the case publicly that the right stance toward Serbia is steadiness, not retreat.

Even if sanctions did not produce sweeping change in Belgrade, a crippled Serbia is preferable to one that is given the chance to rebound.

Moreover, economic war in perpetuity against an unrepentant Serbia would send a strong signal to other tyrants that international aggression, whether it succeeded or not, would result in unforgiving punishment.

There never was an easy solution to the Yugoslav problem. Although the West is not prepared to defeat Mr. Milosevic militarily, it is not obligated to cut a deal with him.

We can reach a more acceptable outcome in time with an acceptable Serbian leadership by showing the same steadfastness we did in the larger cold war.

Unless we hand him victory now, Mr. Milosevic will lose a cold war, and real peace can then come to the Balkans. □

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FILM

Out of the Attic and Asylum, Into the Camera's Eye



'Benny and Joon' Sam (Johnny Depp) and Joon (Mary Stuart Masterson) find happiness.

By MARIA LAURINO

In the opening scene of "Forrest Gump," Tom Hanks, playing the title character, sits squarely on a park bench in a starched cream suit, his shirt buttoned to the collar, holding a box of chocolates. He turns to a stranger and offers her a piece of chocolate, and a taste of his life. Forrest speaks in the vowel-laden chords of the South, but the sound of his voice, like the cadence of his speech, is a note off. Soon Forrest tells us what we already suspect. With an I.Q. of 75, he has spent a lifetime being labeled dumber than most anybody.

But do not expect to pity Forrest; rather, audiences may leave the theater pitying themselves. During the course of the film, which opens on Wednesday, Forrest becomes an all-American football player, a Vietnam War hero and an international Ping-Pong champ. With each accomplishment, Forrest is ushered into the White House to shake the hands of Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, through the use of digital effects, Forrest appears in actual film clips.

Forrest — who drinks Dr. Pepper and makes a good foot soldier — is a 90's Everyman, but this time Everyman is mentally retarded.

Characters like Forrest Gump are appearing more and more frequently on screen. In recent years, a genre of film has emerged about people who are mentally retarded (or mentally ill) and the families who care for them. These stories are putting problems on the kitchen table that were previously tucked away. Yet a caveat remains: Now that it's O.K. to not be O.K., will each season usher in a new form of dysfunction?

In the past, Hollywood occasionally delved into the life of the "other" who struggles to survive in a world out of sync with the rhythm of our own. Confusion and chaos penetrated the mind of the drifter Lennie in "Of Mice and Men," John Steinbeck's 1937 novel, which was filmed several times; audiences rooted for Cliff Robertson in the 1968 film "Charly," with the odd hope that a retarded man had the potential for brilliance. The words "medication time" rang through the 1975 film "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" as a heartbreaking assortment of lost souls with darkened eyes, hollowed temples and ashen complexions mechanically reached for paper cups and pastel pills.

Barry Levinson, director of "Rain Man," says he was initially laughed at for making a movie about an autistic man in 1988, but the film's subsequent commercial and critical success allowed a host of mentally impaired characters, at long last, to exit their distant worlds and barbed-wire institutions and enter daily life. That same year, "Dominick and Eugene" followed a young medical student as he tried to balance a career and the care of his mentally retarded brother.

Last year "Benny and Joon" and "A Dangerous Woman" dealt with mentally unbalanced women. "What's Eating Gilbert Grape" depicted a family whose youngest son, Arnie, is mentally retarded, and landed Leonardo DiCaprio an Oscar nomination this year for the role.

"These movies are reflecting what's happening in real life," says Liz Moore, director of communications and development for the Arc, a national organization that deals with the mentally retarded. "The trend of people moving out of the institution and coming into the community began 20 years ago. It took a few years for that to become a normal part of our society before the arts caught up."

Hollywood's eagerness to take on these subjects also reflects a time when America is more willing to talk about (or listen in on) its problems.

Maria Laurino writes frequently about social issues.

From afternoon talk shows to Court TV audiences breathe in dysfunction as if it were secondhand smoke. Art used life as a casting call when the film makers of "Gilbert Grape" spotted Darlene Cates, a participant in a "Sally Jessy Raphael" show on agoraphobia. She was immediately recognized as the perfect Mama Grape, the monumental matriarch of the family who refuses to step outside the house because of her awe-inspiring obesity.

Many of these films tell the story of a mentally retarded or mentally ill person through a sibling, usually a brother, which helps focus the conflicts, difficulties and sacrifices inherent in such a relationship. The structure is similar to the narrative in "Of Mice and Men," in which George reveals his abiding love for, but never-ending frustration with, his slow friend Lennie.

Generally, the story unfolds as the "normal" sibling reveals how ordinary situations become extraordinary predicaments when living with a person who has a mental disability. "Forrest Gump," unlike the other films, is narrated by a mentally retarded man, allowing the audience to hear his albeit singular story firsthand and directly react to his world. Robert Zemeckis, director of "Forrest Gump," says he hopes audiences can identify: "Wouldn't it be nice if we could look at things without an agenda, and take things at face value? It's kind of a fantasy — to not have to look at everything so cynically."

In "Dominick and Eugene," Eugene tells his crying and enraged brother that he didn't want to miss his birthday but was forced to work late in the hospital — an abstract explanation to Dominick. In "Rain Man," the Charlie Babbitt character (played by Tom Cruise) slowly abandons his illusion that rational arguments can triumph: if Raymond (Dustin Hoffman) must see "People's Court," Charlie will bang on the door of the nearest house to get his brother a seat in front of the television set.

Usually, viewers can relate to the characters who are developmentally disabled each time they reveal a trait that audience members share but that societal expectations have forced them to repress. Who wants a brother to miss a birthday despite a difficult work schedule? Isn't Raymond's sense of order an extreme version of choosing to eat the same breakfast cereal every morning?

"The character has to have what people have in general: irrational behavior that seems totally irrational but rings emotionally true," says Lasse Hallstrom, director of "What's Eating Gilbert Grape." "If you can capture that irrational moment that rings true, then you are on the way."

Arnie Grape's unfiltered emotions reveal the simple childhood joys of watching a police siren's swirling flash of red or the universal pain of losing a parent. His volatility keeps the audience on guard because even a minor quip can tip Arnie's emotional balance. During one family dinner, Gilbert taunts his sister about talking with food in her mouth. She responds, "Thank you, Dad," and Gilbert retorts dryly, "Dad's dead." In most other families, the comment would end with angry glares darting across the table, and the family would continue to pass the salt. But not with the Grapes. Gilbert begins to giggle "Dad's dead," which he repeats with increasing ferocity, as if to exorcise all the demons of his father from his lanky body.

Mama Grape screams for order and bangs her fist against the kitchen table and Arnie's cry continues unabated. Earlier she asks the question "Can't we just do something as a family?" Well, for the Grapes, perhaps not — if American family is defined as the perennially grinning Cleavers.

But if audiences recognize that the

responses of people with mental retardation will never comply with prescribed notions of behavior, let alone sanity, the scene is rather liberating. All those who sometimes feel closer to the Addams Family than the Cleavers can take solace in Arnie's attempt to overcome pain, and in the hope of redemption that the end of the film suggests.

Today audiences are shedding tears for characters like Arnie, Raymond and Dominick. Their lives cannot be discounted or discarded. They will not meet the brutal fate of their ancestor Lennie in "Of Mice and Men" — who is in turn executed by his friend George.

Ms. Moore says she believes that this greater public tolerance has emerged because of the increased presence of mentally retarded people in schools, offices and neighborhoods since deinstitutionalization; the once demonized "other" has become the boy next door. Television was years ahead of feature films, she adds, with the series "Life Goes On," which featured a mentally retarded boy, and the weekly appearance of Benny on "L.A. Law." Then came the larger-than-life images of film. "Seeing a movie like 'Rain Man,'" she says, "makes a connection and allows the public to feel affection for the character."

Of course, for every serious portrait, there are silly ones, which feature the stereotypical caricature of the mentally retarded — the lovable man-child. With the lack of subtlety that defined "The Hand That Rocks the Cradle," a dimwitted handyman named Solomon wisely sees evil before everyone else does. The Harrison Ford character in "Regarding Henry" is absent the normal rage that any person should experience after a debilitating accident that caused brain damage.

Perhaps the idea of the pure and simple innocent still has a romantic hold in an increasingly corruptible society. In "Forrest Gump," the audience sees the idiosyncrasy and hatred of others through Forrest's own naiveté. After Forrest describes how he met John F. Kennedy, he says, "Some time later, for no particular reason, somebody shot that President." At another point in the film, he repeats the words almost verbatim about John Lennon.

In a time of constant analysis, Forrest is an anti-analysis who lacks the ability to explore his own pain or frustration. When he runs (literally) around the country after a sorrowful experience, he explains that he made this journey "for no particular reason." Just as Chance the gardener's empty wisdom drew vacuous politicians in "Being There," Forrest attracts a flock of Gump groupies who follow him because, in their words, he "has it all figured out."

"It's interesting that we can accept these decent values so readily in an innocent or impaired person," says Mr. Zemeckis. "We don't accept them as readily in any other kind of character." If Hollywood has the courage to tackle the subjects of mental illness and mental retardation, it certainly has the jitters about the language it uses. During the course of interviews for this article, an executive who was involved with a movie about mental illness questioned whether it was "politically correct to say mentally ill." The reporter was asked to find the appropriate word and to insert it in the executive's quotes.

No one associated with "Forrest Gump" wanted to label their lead mentally retarded, suggesting that the words conjured an image different from what Forrest really is. Other film makers described their characters as "mentally challenged," a choice of language that the Arc says is misleading and perhaps even aggressive. While the debate over language also exists within the group of advocates for the disabled, Ms. Moore explains that the Arc does not use euphemisms.

"I have trouble with that idea," she



'Rain Man' Charlie (Tom Cruise, left) takes advantage of his autistic brother (Dustin Hoffman).

says. "It's as if there is something wrong with a person with mental retardation that we can't talk about it." However, in 1991 the Arc changed its name from the pronounced acronym ARC, which stood for the Association for Retarded Citizens. Jim Gardner, president of the group, said at the time: "We quit using 'idiot' and 'imbeciles,' so why do we have to use 'retarded'?"

And while eager to embrace the situation of a character dealing with mental problems, the movies often avoid discussing the very medical condition the character has, leaving the audience perplexed. Joon was originally called a mild schizophrenic in "Benny and Joon," but the label was removed from the final version after test audiences objected to the ending, in which Joon chooses to live by herself.

"There's a lot of confused ideas about what schizophrenia is," says Susan Arnold, a producer of "Benny and Joon." "and people would say, 'She couldn't live by herself. It would never have a happy ending if she were schizophrenic.'"

So the diagnosis of schizophrenia

was changed to "the episodes" that she's having. (Don't we all have episodes?) The new words were supposed to convince audiences that Joon could leave the house she shares with her brother for an apartment of her own. Joon begins a relationship with a lost, eccentric soul (Johnny Depp), and together they make cheese sandwiches with a hot iron. The movie trivializes mental illness by suggesting that Joon can find happiness once she discovers a quirky mate.

Another gooey Hollywood ending was tacked on to "A Dangerous Woman," based on the haunting novel by Mary McGarry Morris. The novel's bleak conclusion describes a tragic outcome for Martha Horgan, a mentally unbalanced woman tortured by her turbulent emotions, and suggests that there is little tolerance in society for such a person. Yet the movie enables Martha to fall in love and bear a child, whom she sees on a day pass from her prison cell.

Maybe Hollywood gives us the endings we want — most of the time, at

least. Barry Levinson recalls that test audiences for "Rain Man" protested the downbeat ending, which shows Raymond boarding a train back to his group home. The audience scribbled their reactions on cards, and Mr. Levinson recounts his favorite response. A man wrote, "I was hoping the little guy would snap out of it."

In "Jimmy Hollywood," Barry Levinson's most recent movie, the director added another personality type to the growing repertoire of characters with mental problems. William, played by Christian Slater, checks into Hollywood Medical to have his head examined. At the film's conclusion, William's tests are found to be negative; the dazed and confused character merely suffers from anxiety.

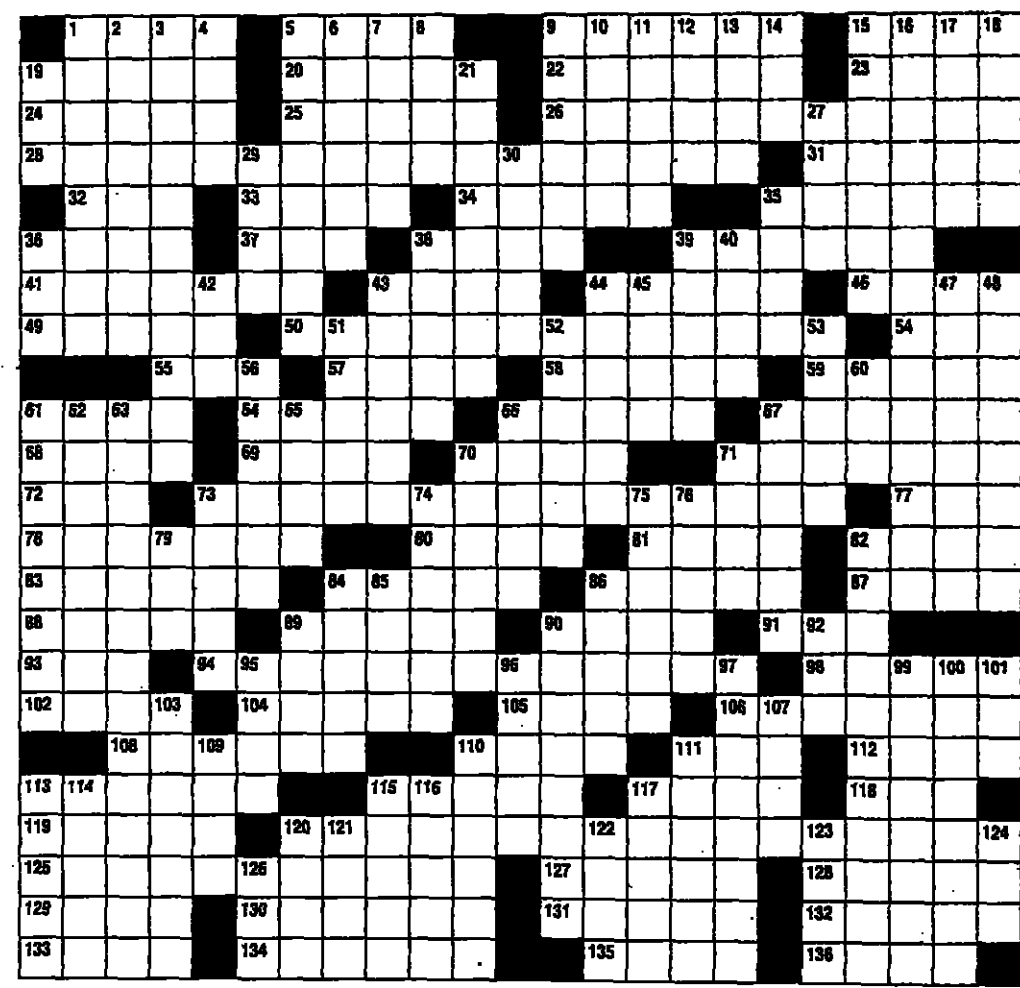
Mr. Levinson says he intended to leave William's condition unclear: "I think on the streets you find an enormous amount of the walking wounded, casualties of war, whatever war they are involved in, with mental problems of some degree. Some people become so overwhelmed that they just shut down."

OVERCROWDING

By A. J. SANTORA / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 500, e.g.
- 5 Hubby, in Paris
- 9 Mountain in Turkey
- 15 Rifle peephole
- 19 21 or over, liquorwise
- 20 Revises
- 22 Dress part
- 23 Mr. Pezler of mystery fiction
- 24 Actress Massey
- 25 Leave
- 26 Newsmen in the Sahara?
- 28 Canal Zone film favorites?
- 31 Answer to "Who's there?"
- 32 Thrice a day, on prescriptions: Abbr.
- 33 Pastase of tennis
- 34 Oscar nominee for "Exodus"
- 35 Apportions
- 36 TV's — "With a Z"
- 37 Scale syllables
- 38 Fuzz
- 39 "Silkwood" actress
- 41 It was first conquered in 1953
- 43 Used up
- 44 Dart
- 46 Ink
- 49 Harass
- 50 Actor who craved goulash?
- 54 Boxing legend
- 55 Holds
- 57 Winter air
- 58 Sister of Euterpe
- 59 Feminist Belle
- 61 19th-century sea novelist
- 64 Prunes
- 66 Dining table decoration
- 67 Pilot
- 68 North Carolina college
- 69 Arkes or Taurus, e.g.
- 70 Workers
- 71 Revisionist
- 72 See 88-Across
- 73 Singer on a South American gig?
- 77 1 — (way to guard)
- 78 Withdraws
- 80 Soon after
- 81 Yearn
- 82 Melody
- 83 Dodged
- 84 Bush Secretary of State
- 86 Title holder
- 87 "Confessions of Felix Krull" author
- 88 Band instrument, with 72-Across
- 89 Hawthorne locale
- 90 Vaux
- 91 Match, in poker
- 93 Suffix with dull or drunk
- 94 Actress with an arty affection?
- 98 Take out
- 102 Tolkien's "The —"
- 10 Way to go
- 104 Clear of vermin
- 105 Uninspiring
- 106 Does a brake job
- 108 The Windors, e.g.
- 110 Fr. holy women
- 111 Parenthetical comment



- 112 "Jellicle Ball" musical
- 113 Pat and Debby
- 115 Ex-Met Rusty Kearns
- 117 Finely appointed
- 118 Some PC's
- 119 In with
- 120 Singer with a Latin beat?
- 125 Washington V.I.P. in Daka?
- 127 Assayer's container
- 128 Sportscaster's details
- 129 — the picture
- 130 Frog
- 131 First name in college football
- 132 Santa —
- 133 The opposition of Belerand
- 134 Wool garments
- 135 Recognize
- 136 Angora notables

DOWN

- 1 Proportionate
- 2 Struggles (over)
- 3 "The Country Girl"
- 4 up north?
- 5 Suss's country
- 6 Building block
- 6 Hunk
- 7 — Janeiro
- 8 Live — (enjoy the good life)
- 9 Without
- 10 Way to go
- 11 Supplement
- 12 Irani money
- 13 Benzoyl peroxide target
- 14 Artist Gerard —
- 15 Carboys

- 16 Singer/actress in Africa?
- 17 1946 Bldini event
- 18 L.B.J. chronicler
- 19 Edge
- 21 Lasting
- 27 French wing
- 29 Intentions
- 30 Home run hitter of the 40's
- 35 Commedia dell'arte
- 36 Neighbor of Isr.
- 38 Boxes
- 39 Blackish
- 40 — Giglio ("Ed Sullivan Show" regular)
- 42 Touchdown abbr.
- 43 Early astronomical instrument
- 44 Screenplay
- 45 Ember
- 47 Protein in Wheaties
- 48 Hakeem Olajuwon, e.g.
- 51 Weld
- 52 — of the guard
- 53 Lunatic
- 56 Looked wide-eyed
- 60 Hopper
- 61 Papal letter
- 62 Lotion ingredient
- 63 "60 Minutes" D-Day reporter?
- 65 Toupees
- 66 Red Cross hero
- 67 Dubai leaders
- 70 Flicks
- 71 Novelist Tyler
- 73 "God is —": Fuller
- 74 Absorb abuse
- 75 Acclivitous
- 76 1964 Lorne Greene song hit

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

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CELESTINATION DENTAL
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GENTLE SMO MESS
HARDY GATED TIG
GLOBAL VENTERS SHERPA
VENEN HER ALIAS AVON
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USLAN ENROH LON BAHIA
PASTAS NONSES BELONY
ENT MARE ISABEL
ROBER
SLIME CAUSE RAS RALLIES
TYPIST CRUCIALSTATION
BRETT CAROLLES SHAKE
SASSES LAYDEN SEED

Justices disallow court shopping over Green Line

LAW REPORT

ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Civil Appeals, before Justices Dov Levin, Ya'acov Kedmi and Tova Strassberg-Cohen, in the matter of *The Arab Insurance Company Shechem, appellant, versus Abed Zarikat, respondent* (C.A. 4716/93).

ABED Zarikat, a taxi driver living near Hebron, was involved in an accident in the administered territories. He was insured with the appellant company which is registered and conducts its business in Nablus. It is licensed to insure vehicles of residents of Judea, Samaria, Gaza and eastern Jerusalem only, and it has no branches in Israel.

Zarikat lodged an action for damages against the company in the Jerusalem District Court. It was not disputed that the claim could have been brought before the appropriate court in the territories, but Zarikat's counsel explained that the Jerusalem court would probably award his client higher compensation.

The company objected to the Jerusalem court hearing the case but was overruled. It then appealed to the Supreme Court.

Justice Strassberg-Cohen delivered the judgment of the court. Citing several precedents, she said the court inclined to the view that the natural and suitable forum for the trial of damages claims arising from accidents in the territories was the appropriate court in that area.

However, the choice of the "natural" forum was within the discretion of the court after considering all the circumstances having "the most relevant, meaningful and substantive links" with the subject matter of the dispute. This was the accepted test in English, American and Israeli law.

The considerations to be weighed related both to the parties and the public at large. As to the parties, relevant features were where they lived and conducted their affairs, the place of the accident, the possibility of compelling the attendance of witnesses and the expense involved, and the possibility of inspecting the scene and enforcing the judgment.

"The natural forum" was usually the local court in the area of the occurrence. The plaintiff in the present case had chosen a court outside that area. The question then arose whether the court would have jurisdiction over both parties, and it would also inquire whether the relief granted in both courts would be substantially similar and just, or whether the result in the "natural forum" would be "grossly unreasonable."

The difference in the measure of compensation awarded by the court outside the area would not justify changing the forum if the area court would do "substantial justice" between the parties.

The public considerations to be weighed, Justice Strassberg-Cohen continued, included the desire not to add cases in courts already overloaded, and the advantage of resolving disputes in the surroundings in which they arose.

ZARIKAT HAD submitted that a number of facts justified his lodging his claim in Jerusalem: that he conveyed passengers in his taxi between Jerusalem and the territories; that his policy was issued by an agent of the company in Jerusalem and covers accidents in Israel; that he received medical treatment after the accident in a Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem; the difficulty of summoning witnesses from Israel to testify in the territories; the difficulty of a court in the area, which is unacquainted with Israeli law, applying the Road Accident Victims Compensation Law of 1975; the difficulty of conducting the case from the procedural and evidential aspects, and from the point of view of the substantive law; and the difficulty of getting suitable compensation.

Justice Strassberg-Cohen held that none of the above considerations, nor indeed all of them together, created sufficient links justifying the trial in Israel.

In conveying passengers to and from Jerusalem, Zarikat left from his home near Hebron, and returned there. That feature had no connection with an accident which occurred in the territories, and created no link between the accident and Israel.

The issue of insurance certificates and policies in Jerusalem created only an apparent but not a meaningful link with Israel. The company was licensed to insure east Jerusalemites, but it was based, registered and conducted its business in Shechem. The natural forum to resolve its disputes, and what the parties would expect, was in the territories.

The fact that the policy also covered accidents in Israel did not create a link between Israel and an accident which occurred elsewhere. Disagreeing in this respect with the District Court, Justice Strassberg-Cohen regarded the place of the accident in the context of choosing the forum as a "substantive, basic and meaningful" factor.

The court had already held that a plaintiff having received medical treatment in Israel had no influence on the choice of the forum. There was no proof of difficulty in securing the authentic medical records, or of examining the expert who had already been appointed.

If such difficulty emerged, another expert could be appointed. Zarikat's fears relating to the procedures and laws of evidence in a court in the territories were utterly groundless. The courts were fully qualified to deal with accident claims, and where Israeli law did not apply, the court would apply Jordanian law. There was no basis for the submission that Zarikat would suffer injustice.

The Compensation Law of 1975 (supra) had been applied to the territories, and there was no reason why a court there should not properly enforce it. Moreover, the only question would be one of the quantum of damage involving Zarikat's loss of earnings, his needs and life-style. It was only natural that evidence on these matters should be taken from his family and associates in the area in which they live and work.

The relationship between Israel and the territories was not the same as that between two sovereign states which jealously guarded the right of their own courts to deal with those who approached them. It was Israel's declared policy to allow the courts in the territories to continue to serve the non-Israeli population by applying local law.

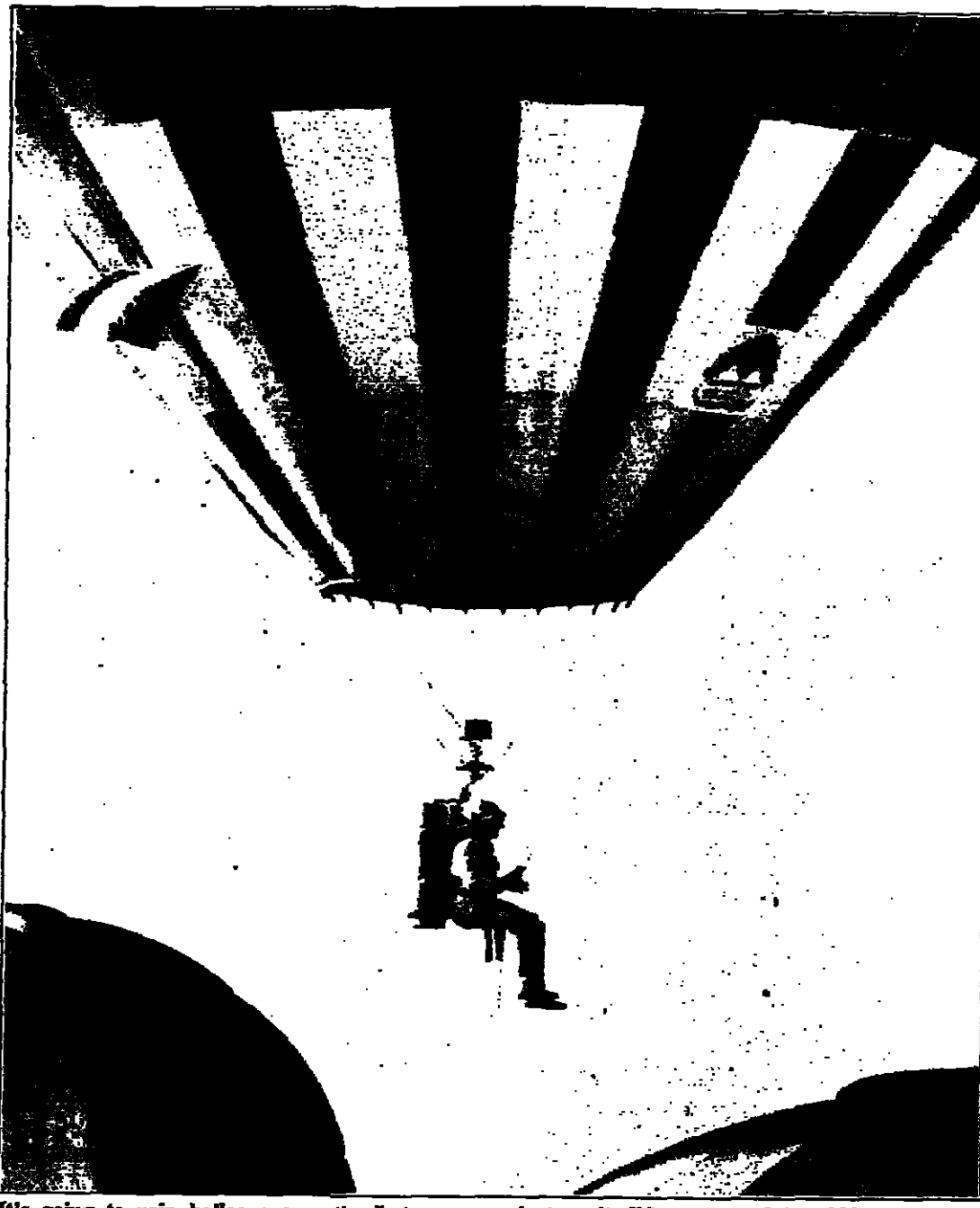
Justice Strassberg-Cohen also decided that the fact that the case had continued in the District Court even after the appeal had been lodged did not justify its remaining there. The steps that had already been taken could be adjusted to the proceedings which would now take place in a court in the territories.

The links of the present case with the territories were stronger than those with Israel. The court should therefore give effect to Israel's policy of permitting the courts in the territories to deal with disputes there in their natural surroundings, and not saddle the Israeli courts with cases which should be dealt with elsewhere.

FOR THE above reasons the appeal was allowed, and the proceedings in the District Court were stayed to enable Zarikat to lodge his claim in the proper forum.

Advocates Rafael Strauss and Mousa Othman appeared for the company, and Advocates Amos Givon and Aharon Be'eri appeared for Zarikat.

The judgment was given on June 22, 1994.



It's going to rain balloons over the Latrun area, just as it did over Arad in 1988. (G. Feinblau)

Where hot air is hot stuff

DEREK FATTAL

THE skies above Kibbutz Nahshon will be ablaze with color beginning Tuesday afternoon with the launch of the country's third international hot air balloon fiesta.

The four-day festive competition near Latrun is the brainchild of former El Al pilot Gideon Arbel, who arranged similar festivals in 1988 and 1989 in Arad.

With a standard hot-air balloon costing in excess of \$20,000, the sport is unaffordable to most Israelis, which is why there are a mere handful of balloonists here.

Nevertheless, Arbel believes the sport is set to take off, because conditions here are perfect for ballooning. He points out that in England enthusiasts can fly only about 70 days per year, whereas the wind and climate here allow enthusiasts to take to the skies 300 days per year.

DEREK FATTAL

Arbel has attracted more than 35 foreign balloon teams comprising over 200 enthusiasts from 11 countries for the fiesta, which he says is comparable in size to most international meets.

Arbel, convinced that Israel could become a global center for ballooning, hopes to build the event into a regular spectacle that will feature hundreds of teams. Reactions here have received from balloonists worldwide are that if the peace process succeeds, foreign enthusiasts will be keen to take to Israel's skies en masse.

Nahshon planned this year's fireworks, films and laser displays as well as rock concerts including Yehudit Ravitz. There will be refreshment facilities and special playground areas for children.

The giant 300-kg. air sacs are folded into bundles of about 2 cubic meters for transportation on special pallets.

Opening ceremonies are to begin at 5 p.m. Tuesday, and the first mass launch is set to follow at 6:30.

On Wednesday and Thursday the massive balloons, which exceed the height of a 10-storey building, will be let loose from their moorings twice a day, at 6:30 a.m. and 6:30 p.m. Ascensions on Friday will be at 6:30 a.m. only.

The balloons are the stars of the show, but there is a full supporting program, including air shows, parachutists, aerobatics and marching bands.

In the evenings there will be fireworks, films and laser displays as well as rock concerts including Yehudit Ravitz. There will be refreshment facilities and special playground areas for children. Entrance is NIS 35.

Unprepared for a big oil spill

EARTHLY CONCERNS

DYORA BEN SHAUL

LAST week saw another serious oil spill at sea. This time, it happened off the coast of South Africa, home to the world's two largest colonies of Jackass penguins.

All week, rescue workers struggled in raging storms to save as many oil-drenched birds as possible. Several thousand adult birds were decontaminated and transferred to temporary safe facilities.

The adult penguins' smooth feathers were cleaned with detergents. If the birds are protected, they can soon secrete a new layer of oil to protect them from the water and the cold.

Those that survive the ordeal can, it is hoped, eventually be returned to the area where this species has been breeding for centuries. But there is little hope for the many chicks left behind. Their downy plumage is virtually impossible to clean and fluff up enough to protect them.

This, coupled with the loss of their parents and their habitat, has caused grievous damage to the penguin colonies. Most of this year's hatch may be doomed.

THIS LATEST spill came either from the breakup of a ship that was deliberately scuttled more than a decade ago or from a Mexican ship that disappeared last week off South Africa.

Oil spills are by no means uncommon. Everyone remembers the big ones, like the Exxon Valdez breakup on the Alaskan coast in 1989. The cost of the damage there has amounted to many millions of dollars. Experts say it will be nothing short of a miracle if the major damage is corrected within two or three decades.

Last winter, there was a serious spill off the Shetland Islands. Over the years, there have been serious accidents off the coasts of almost every continent.

Which brings us to the need to consider the fact that our own coasts are in the path of serious oil shipping, both in the Red Sea and in the Mediterranean. Tanker traffic is heavy, and weather conditions often don't make for smooth sailing. In short: All the elements are in place for a disaster off our own shores.

The authorities are well aware of this. It has been discussed in countless meetings, but the unchanged reality is that Israel is woefully under-equipped and unprepared to handle such a disaster. There are no seagoing decontamination boats and no adequately trained workforce.

We have already had small oil spills in the Gulf of Eilat, and those were bad enough. A major spill could be a disaster.

Severely wounded in a battle near Philadelphia, he was secretly carried to his father's home for treatment, until he was betrayed to the British by a "villain."

While receiving medical care from the British, Bosh discovered a spy who had infiltrated Washington's headquarters and was sending information to the enemy. As soon as Bosh was released, he notified Washington's staff, and the spy was apprehended.

Jews helped give America liberty; some met death

DAVID GEFFEN

SEVENTEEN-year-old Benjamin Nones stepped ashore in the colonies in 1774 and immediately volunteered for the struggle to free them from British rule.

The lad was one of about 100 Jews who fought in the Revolutionary War with the American rebel forces. He displayed such bravery in battle that a letter sent in 1779 to the headquarters of the Southern colonial American command read:

"I take advantage of the occasion, and with much pleasure, in my capacity as captain of volunteers attached to the side of General Pulaski, to certify that Benjamin Nones has served as a volunteer in my company during the campaign of this year and at the siege of Savannah, Georgia, and his behavior under fire in all the bloody actions we fought has been marked by the bravery and courage which a military man is expected to show for the liberties of his country."

Nones (1757-1826) was born in Bordeaux, France, where his family had lived for several hundred years.

He fought in the campaigns in South Carolina and Georgia, displaying exceptional bravery throughout his military career. After the war he moved to Philadelphia, where he went into business and raised a family of 14 children. A number of them served in the US military, fighting in the War of 1812, the Mexican War and even the Civil War.

In 1791 he became president of the Mikveh Israel congregation in Philadelphia, holding the office for many years.

IN JULY 1776, Isaac Franks was serving with a unit on Long Island. He recalled how he and his fellow soldiers reacted to the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence. They were in "parade order" as the declaration was read to them.

"We all, as with one voice, declared that we would support and defend our nation with our lives and fortunes."

Franks was a noncommissioned officer throughout the war, fighting in various locales in the New York-New Jersey area. After the war, he moved to Philadelphia and joined the Pennsylvania Militia, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was a successful merchant, and bought the Desher House, a landmark residence in the Germantown suburb of Philadelphia. In the summer of 1793, when the yellow fever epidemic was at its peak, President George Washington rented the Franks' home for a month.

SOLOMON BOSH of Philadelphia joined the rebel army in 1775 because he wanted to "revenge the wrongs of my injured country." A capable soldier, he soon rose to the rank of deputy adjutant general of the State Militia with which he was serving.

Severely wounded in a battle near Philadelphia, he was secretly carried to his father's home for treatment, until he was betrayed to the British by a "villain."

While receiving medical care from the British, Bosh discovered a spy who had infiltrated Washington's headquarters and was sending information to the enemy. As soon as Bosh was released, he notified Washington's staff, and the spy was apprehended.

THREE well-known American Jews who did not actually serve in the military - Haym Salomon, Myer Myers and Gershom Mendes Seixas - did, however, in their own way, support the cause of the American revolution.

Salomon, a native of Poland, came to New York in 1773 and quickly joined the Sons of Liberty. A known patriot, he was imprisoned by the British when they took over New York in 1776. He was released and worked with the Hessian troops, but secretly he continued to aid the rebel cause.

In the summer of 1778, Salomon left his wife and infant child and escaped to Philadelphia. Beginning as a penniless refugee, he soon became a leading broker in the city. He was asked by Robert Morris, superintendent of finance for the Continental Congress, to assist in raising funds for the war effort.

Salomon was the only American Jew honored during the American Bicentennial in 1976, when a stamp was issued labeling him "financier of the Revolution."

Myer Myers, a noted silversmith in New York, took his family to Connecticut in the fall of 1776 rather than live under British rule after the Redcoats captured the city. Throughout the war, he used the tools of his craft to fashion bullets and other munitions for the colonial soldiers.

Gershom Mendes Seixas, the hazzan of the Shearith Israel synagogue in New York, preached several dramatic sermons in support of the rebel cause in 1775 and 1776. When the British captured New York, he took the Torah scrolls from the synagogue and escaped with his family to Connecticut.

For several years they lived in very difficult circumstances, always on the run. Then in 1780 Seixas was asked to come to Philadelphia and serve as hazzan of the Mikveh Israel synagogue. The handwritten prayer he composed in Hebrew and English for the dedication of the Mikveh Israel building in 1782 includes a prayer for George Washington.

THERE WAS also one known Jew who served in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, during the terrible winter of 1777-78. He was Philip Moses Russell, who had enlisted in 1775. At Valley Forge he served as a surgeon's mate, aiding the sick and wounded during that terrible period. He himself became so ill from the rigors of that winter that he almost went blind. In 1780 he had to retire from active duty because of his ailments.

In February 1992, his great-great-great-great-granddaughter, Bessie Mayer of Wilmington, died. One of the few Jewish members of the Daughters of the American Revolution organization, she took great pride in her ancestor who had served his country with honor.

"We American Jews," she once told me, "are the beneficiaries of a twofold heritage. We are both Americans and Jews, and we must never forsake either one."

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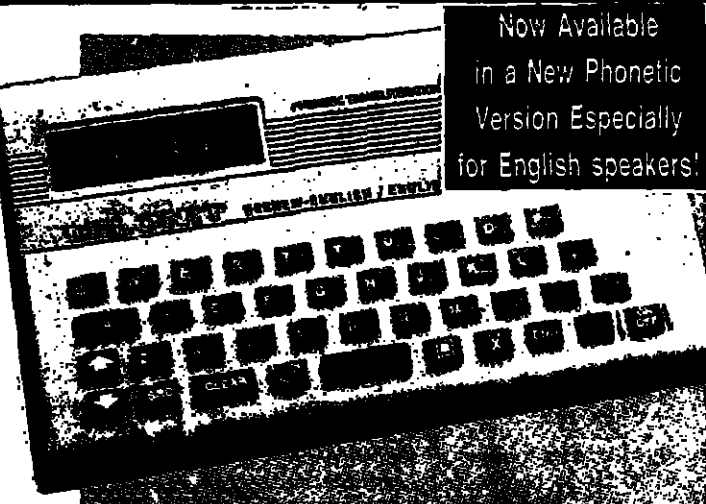
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Kupat Holim membership drops steadily

JUDY SIEGEL

KUPAT Holim's share of health fund membership has dropped to its lowest point in decades, and it was the only health fund to lose members over the last six months, according to figures released yesterday by the National Insurance Institute.

The NII's count of health fund members, carried out every six months to determine division of the employers' tax (*mas makbil*) among the insurers, showed a continuing decline. Clalit was the only health fund to lose members, while the other three funds grew.

According to the NII survey of workers, Clalit insures 65.5 percent (or 3.3 million) of the 5.1m. individuals who have health insurance, compared with 66.8% last November. This constitutes a net loss of 62,000 members.

By comparison, the Maccabi health fund increased by 5% (or 43,133 members) to pass the 900,000 mark; Leumi's share rose by 2.8% (12,035 members); and Meuhedet rose by 4% (13,158 members) during the past six months. Only a decade ago, Clalit boasted that it insured nearly 90% of the population.

Maccabi Director-General Rafi Roter said two-thirds of its new members were formerly in Clalit. Signaling a trend dangerous to the Histadrut health fund's future, only half of young people now choose to join Clalit, and 40% of new immigrants picked Maccabi compared with 23% going to Clalit.

David Tagar, chairman of the Histadrut health fund, said he regretted the figures, but noted that they did not reflect an exact picture of membership because Clalit insures many unemployed people who are not included in the NII survey. However, he added, the decline was not due to a reduction in the quality of services in Clalit but to "political influences" that hurt Clalit's image.

Tagar noted that under the "capitation" system to be inaugurated by the National Health Insurance Law in October, Clalit stands to gain NIS 200m. a year because it has a larger percentage of elderly members and will receive extra compensation for them.

Meanwhile, the Histadrut's central committee yesterday gave Clalit executives a document protecting them from legal suits based on management decisions taken during the "emergency period" between June 8 and July 15.

The document refers to suits that may be filed by suppliers of products and services to the financially troubled health fund. By deciding to pay off one supplier and not another, the managers could otherwise be sued personally for losses. The document covers 12 senior managers, including members of the board and the director-general. Histadrut Secretary-General Haim Haberfeld maintained that the matter was approved by the man who will replace him, MK Haim Ramon.



Yitzhak Rabin addresses Labor's central committee, where he rejected any Histadrut coalition with the Likud. (A. Roshchik/Sun)

PM: No Histadrut coalition with Likud

MICHAEL YUDELMAN

PRIME Minister Yitzhak Rabin yesterday ruled out the possibility of a coalition with the Likud in the Histadrut, warning that such a move would have disastrous implications on a national level.

Speaking at a meeting of Labor's central committee, which was called to elect the party's delegates to the Histadrut's executive committee, Rabin linked the Histadrut coalition with the government's social goals and the advancement of the peace process.

He said that "although we have profound differences with Ramon, on the national level they are our future partners. Without them, a government consisting of radical right-wing, religious and haredi parties will be the alternative."

Rabin went on to blast the Likud, which he described as being led by an "increasingly fanatic right wing. Gush Emunim and the Yesha council are leading the Likud. The Levingers and the others are today leading the rabbis; the radical ones are setting the tone."

"If we don't take a stand against all these, on all fronts and on all levels, we will miss the opportunity to achieve peace. Therefore, even when we're dealing with Histadrut issues, don't forget the national picture."

"There is no greater national duty today, both to the state and to the party, than preventing the Likud from entering into the home of the Histadrut," he said. MK Haim Ramon is to be elected Histadrut secretary-general tomorrow at the Histadrut convention.

to be held at the Jerusalem International Convention Center (Binyanei Ha'uma).

The convention's preparatory committee finally completed the agenda, which lists Rabin, President Ezer Weizman, and outgoing Secretary-General Haim Haberfeld as the main speakers. Ramon will address the convention after being elected.

Discussions of Haberfeld's future position and the distribution of portfolios in the new executive bureau were postponed until after the convention.

2 seriously injured in train mishaps

Two people were in serious condition yesterday after their legs were amputated by a passing train in separate incidents.

On Friday, Issa Mohammed Abdul Rahman Tawil, a man with a history of emotional problems, reportedly attempted suicide by lying on the tracks in Jerusalem as a train came by. He was rushed to Hadassah-University Hospital, Ein Kerem, where he underwent surgery last night. Both legs were amputated by the train.

Also on Friday, Tzipora Bialik, 38, was carrying her baby when a train ran over her in Jerusalem. Her baby was unharmed, but her legs were amputated. She was in serious and critical but stable condition after surgery.

Winning cards

In yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the eight of spades, nine of hearts, ten of diamonds and nine of clubs.

Vacation begins, homework ends

HAIM SHAPIRO

ABOUT a million elementary school and kindergarten pupils who are starting their vacation today can breathe easy - the Ministry of Education has issued a directive saying they are not to do homework over the summer.

The ministry directive, sent to school principals and teachers a few weeks ago, said that teachers were not to require their pupils to buy workbooks and do the work in them. Instead, the directive said, the children were to be encouraged to register at public libraries

and do creative projects. Among the activities slated for children and youth during the summer are day camps, leadership camps, youth movement camps and projects of the Jewish National Fund and the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel.

According to the ministry, some 1,300 camps, run by community centers and private groups have received ministry licensing.

According to the Employment Service, over 15,000 high-school students, who ended school last week, have already registered to find summer jobs, with about half of them being sent to work places. The service said that there were twice as many jobs for young people this year as there were last year.

The service expects about 45,000 youths to register, with about 35,000 of them actually finding some sort of work.

Beer, baseball, burgers to mark July 4 celebrations

HAIM SHAPIRO

AMERICANS yearning for the spirit of the old country have their choice of a variety of ways to celebrate July 4, ranging from a picnic in the park, with little league baseball, to an all-night party at Tel Aviv's largest dance club.

An afternoon of family entertainment and fun is promised at the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel at a picnic in Jerusalem's Sacher Park from 3 to 7 p.m. There is to be a kosher barbecue featuring hot dogs, hamburgers, watermelon and potato chips.

Entertainment includes clowns, jugglers, model airplane and karate exhibitions, and two all-star little-league baseball games.

AACI picnics are also planned for the north and south of the country. In Tiberias, it is to take place at the Kibbutz Kinneret beach from 5 p.m., while the Beersheba picnic is to be held at the pool of the Desert Inn Hotel from 4 to 9. Those coming to both events should bring their own food.

In Tel Aviv, what promises to be an American-style bash not for Americans only is to be held at the

Colosseum, in Kikar Atarim, with the participation of Ben & Jerry's Ice Cream, Burger King, Globus Group, MTV, and Tower Records. The party, which is to include hot dogs and cotton candy, music, drinks, and prizes, is slated to last all night. Americans, Israelis, and others from around the world are invited to the event, for which there is an admission fee of NIS 30.

Also celebrating American Independence Day are the New York New York delicatessens in Herzliya Pithah, Tel Aviv and Rishon LeZion. The restaurants say they will have a special barbecue and free beer for the holiday.

Those who miss all of these events can celebrate a belated July 4 at a free party which Kibbutz Ramat David is organizing for kibbutz volunteers and other foreigners from all over the country this Shabbat.

The "Welcome to the World" party is due to begin at 4:15 on Friday at the kibbutz, which is located on the Haifa-Afula highway, near Nazareth.

"We just want to bring people together," said Raz Rechtes, organizer of the event.

Rechtes said that there would be no entry fee and that soft drinks and snacks would be free. Beer and ice cream are to be on sale for what he described as a nominal sum.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin sent July 4 greetings to President Bill Clinton yesterday. Below is the text of the letter Rabin sent Clinton:

Dear Mr. President,
On behalf of the Government of Israel and in my own name, I extend to you and the American people hearty congratulations on the celebration of your country's 218th year of independence. The ideals of democracy and liberty which epitomize the United States have given people throughout the world a sense of hope and a vision of a better future.

Israel, especially, is committed to pursuing these noble goals and is grateful for the assistance and support, politically, economically and morally - throughout the years - that the United States has given us.

I send you our best wishes for your nation's well-being, prosperity, and success.
Sincerely,
Yitzhak Rabin

Cabinet okays 'Craterland' creation

LIAT COLLINS

A NEW land was born in Israel yesterday when the cabinet endorsed in principle the idea of establishing "Craterland," a huge nature reserve comprising the Ramon, Large and Little Craters and the two smaller Arif craters in the Negev.

The proposal for the nature reserve was co-sponsored by Environment Minister Yossi Sarid and Tourism Minister Uzi Baram. The cabinet said the area holds nationally and internationally recognized unique natural assets. This obliges the country to observe special rules to preserve the desert there and develop the craters as nature and tourism sites, Sarid said.

The Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel praised the government's decision. The SPNI and other conservation groups have been fighting a long battle to preserve the area as "wilderness" desert.

As recognized geological assets, the craters will be protected from the arbitrary quarrying and mining which is being carried out in the area today by private companies operating without government licenses or environmental rehabilitation programs.

An SPNI spokeswoman said most of the rock being quarried in the Ramon and Large Craters

could be extracted from alternative sites without causing harm to the special landscape and environment found there.

The craters have become increasingly popular sites for both local and foreign tourists seeking natural "wilderness" areas to hike in. The Tourism Ministry is eager to utilize the natural potential of the area, officials said.

An interministerial committee, headed by the Tourism Ministry director-general, will examine the consequences of the decision on commerce, tourism, the environment and employment opportunities.

The committee is expected to submit its findings within 60 days.

Petition: Commission covered up army rabbi's role in Pisahov burial

EVELYN GORDON

THE military commission set up to investigate the burial of non-Jewish soldier Lev Pisahov in a civilian cemetery is deliberately covering up the role of Chief Army Rabbi Gad Navon, a petition to the High Court of Justice charged yesterday.

Pisahov, the son of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, was killed last August in a terrorist attack while doing his army service. Because he was not Jewish, however, he was initially buried in the civilian part of the Beit She'an cemetery, near the fence.

A week later, due to a public outcry, he was reburied in the military portion of the cemetery, and the army set up a commission to investigate why this was not done right away.

Although the commission's report was supposed to be kept secret, its finding that Northern Command Chief Rabbi Avraham Ohanuna bore responsibility for the affair was leaked to the press.

The petitioner, Michael Lipsky, is part of an army reserve unit responsible for identifying the dead and wounded. Shortly after

Pisahov's death, he spoke with Ohanuna and secretly recorded the conversation. He then submitted the tapes to the commission, and testified before it.

According to Lipsky, the tapes indicate that Navon was actually responsible for the decision, but the commission has chosen to ignore this evidence, instead accusing Lipsky of having a grudge against Navon.

"There exists a real suspicion that senior political and military officials are whitewashing reality and hiding the truth from the public, by blaming someone who is not responsible for what happened ... in an apparent attempt to clear the person directly responsible of all blame," the petition said.

Lipsky therefore asked the court to order Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin and various senior army officials to reopen the investigation into what happened, and in particular to investigate whether Navon is telling the truth.

He also asked the court to order an investigation into how Lipsky's role in the affair became known to the public.

Store owner convicted of negligence in girl's death

RAINE MARCUS

JEFFREY Tollman, owner of Tollman's furniture stores, was convicted in Tel Aviv Magistrates Court yesterday of negligently causing the death of a three-year-old girl.

In August 1990, Lior Seri, daughter of actor Matti Seri, was with her parents at Tollman's store in Kikar Medina. Her mother went downstairs and Lior stayed with her father on the first-floor showroom.

Matti Seri went to the window of the store to peek at his car to ensure he had not been given a parking ticket. Meanwhile his daughter, who was standing by the stairs, looked through the iron bars covering the stairs between floors and fell two meters to the basement below.

She suffered head injuries and died in the hospital two days later. A probe revealed the design of the store did not comply with standards of the Israeli Standards Institute, and the iron safety bars had been built too far apart.

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Communion Symphony 2nd movement - Avni
Concerto for Violoncello, "Kaddish" - Kaufman
Mark Drobinsky, violoncello

Monday, July 11, 8:30 p.m. YMCA Hall, Jerusalem
Patron: Mayor Ehud Olmert
Symphony No. 4, Opus 98 in E minor - Brahms
Candide Overture - Bernstein
The Moldau - Smetana
Communion Symphony, 2nd movement - Avni
Concerto for Violoncello, "Kaddish" - Kaufman
Mark Drobinsky, violoncello

Wednesday, July 13, 8:30 p.m. Noga Theater, Tel Aviv-Jaffa
Patron: Mayor Roni Milo
Symphony No. 4, Opus 98 in E minor - Brahms
Candide Overture - Bernstein
The Moldau - Smetana
Communion Symphony, 2nd movement - Avni
Concerto for Violoncello, "Kaddish" - Kaufman
Mark Drobinsky, violoncello

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